

# The American Historical Review

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J. FRANKLIN JAMESON

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The  
**American Historical Review**

THE GREEK ELEMENT IN THE RENAISSANCE OF THE  
TWELFTH CENTURY

THE renaissance of the twelfth century consisted in part of a revival of the Latin classics and the Roman law, whence the movement has sometimes been called a "Roman renaissance", in part of a rapid widening of the field of knowledge by the introduction of the science and philosophy of the ancient Greeks into western Europe. This Greek learning came in large measure through Arabic intermediaries, with some additions in the process, so that the influence of the Saracen scholars of Spain and the East is well understood. It is not always sufficiently realized that there was also a notable amount of direct contact with Greek sources, both in Italy and in the East, and that translations made directly from Greek originals were an important, as well as a more direct and faithful, vehicle for the transmission of ancient learning. Less considerable in the aggregate than what came through the Arabs, the Greek element was nevertheless significant for the later Middle Ages, while it is further interesting as a direct antecedent of the Greek revival of the Quattrocento. No general study has yet been made of this movement, but detailed investigation has advanced sufficiently to permit of a brief survey of the present state of our knowledge.

The most important meeting-point of Greek and Latin culture in the twelfth century was the Norman kingdom of southern Italy and Sicily.<sup>1</sup> Long a part of the Byzantine Empire, this region still retained Greek traditions and a numerous Greek-speaking population, and it had not lost contact with the East. In the eleventh cen-

<sup>1</sup> See, in general, Haskins and Lockwood, "The Sicilian Translators of the Twelfth Century and the First Latin Version of Ptolemy's *Almagest*", in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXI. 75-102 (1910); Haskins, "Further Notes on Sicilian Translations of the Twelfth Century", *ibid.*, XXIII. 155-166 (1912); and the literature there cited.

ture the merchants of Amalfi maintained an active commerce with Constantinople and Syria; Byzantine craftsmen wrought great bronze doors for the churches and palaces of the south;<sup>2</sup> and travelling monks brought back fragments of Greek legend and theology to be turned into Latin.<sup>3</sup> Libraries of Greek origin, chiefly of Biblical and theological writings, were gathered into the Basilian monasteries,<sup>4</sup> and more comprehensive collections were formed at the Norman capital. Only in the Norman kingdom did Greek, Latin, and Arabic civilization live side by side in peace and toleration. These three languages were in current use in the royal charters and registers, as well as in many-tongued Palermo, so that knowledge of more than one of them was a necessity for the officials of the royal court, to which men of distinction from every land were welcomed. The production of translations was inevitable in such a cosmopolitan atmosphere, and it was directly encouraged by the Sicilian kings, from Roger to Frederick II. and Manfred, as part of their efforts to foster learning. While Roger commanded a history of the five patriarchates from a Greek monk, Neilos Doxopatres, and a comprehensive Arabic treatise on geography from the Saracen Edrisi, translation appears to have been more actively furthered during the brief reign of his successor. Under William I. a Latin rendering of Gregory Nazianzen was undertaken by the king's orders, and a version of Diogenes Laertius was requested by his chief minister Maio. Indeed the two principal translators were members of the royal administration, Henricus Aristippus and Eugene the Emir, both of whom have left eulogies of the king which celebrate his philosophic mind and wide-ranging tastes and the attractions of his court for scholars.<sup>5</sup>

Archdeacon of Catania in 1156, when he worked at his Plato in the army before Benevento, Aristippus was the principal officer of the Sicilian *curia* from 1160 to 1162; when his dismissal was soon

<sup>2</sup> A. Schaube, *Handelsgeschichte der Romanischen Völker* (Munich, 1906), pp. 34-37; F. Novati, *Le Origini*, in the co-operative *Storia Letteraria d'Italia*, p. 312 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The principal examples are Nemesius, *De Natura Hominis*, translated by Alfano, bishop of Salerno, and a collection of miracles put into Latin by the monk John of Amalfi. On Alfano, see particularly C. Baeumker, in *Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie*, vol. XIII., coll. 1095-1102 (1896); and G. Falco, in *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, XXXV. 439-481 (1912). On John, M. Huber, *Johannes Monachus, Liber de Miraculis* (Heidelberg, 1913).

<sup>4</sup> F. Lo Parco, "Scolario-Saba", in *Atti della R. Accademia di Archeologia di Napoli*, n. s., vol. I., pt. II., pp. 207-286 (1910), with Heiberg's criticism in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXII. 160-162.

<sup>5</sup> *Hermes*, I. 388; *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XI. 451.

followed by his death. Besides the versions of Gregory Nazianzen and Diogenes, which, if completed, have not reached us, Aristippus was the first translator of the *Meno* and *Phaedo* of Plato and of the fourth book of Aristotle's *Meteorology*,<sup>6</sup> and his Latin rendering remained in current use during the Middle Ages and the early Renaissance. An observer of natural phenomena on his own account, he was also instrumental in bringing manuscripts to Sicily from the library of the Emperor Manuel at Constantinople. One of these possesses special importance, a beautiful codex of Ptolemy's *Almagest*, from which the first Latin version was made by a visiting scholar about 1160. The translator tells us that he was much aided by Eugene the Emir, "a man most learned in Greek and Arabic and not ignorant of Latin", who likewise translated Ptolemy's *Optics* from the Arabic. The scientific and mathematical bent of the Sicilian school is seen in still other works which were probably first turned into Latin here: the *Data*, *Optica*, and *Catoptrica* of Euclid, the *De Motu* of Proclus, and the *Pneumatica* of Hero of Alexandria. A poet of some importance in his native Greek, Eugene is likewise associated with the transmission to the West of two curious bits of Oriental literature, the prophecy of the Erythraean Sibyl and the Sanskrit fable of Kalila and Dimna. If it be added that the new versions of Aristotle's *Logic* were in circulation at the court of William I., and that an important group of New Testament manuscripts can be traced to the scribes of King Roger's court, we get some further measure of the intellectual interests of twelfth-century Sicily, while the medical school of Salerno must not be forgotten as a centre of attraction and diffusion for scientific knowledge.

Italy had no other royal court to serve as a centre of the new learning, and no other region where East and West met in such constant and fruitful intercourse. In other parts of the peninsula we must look less for resident Greeks than for Latins who learned their Greek at Constantinople, as travellers or as members of the not inconsiderable Latin colony made up chiefly from the great commercial republics of Venice and Pisa.<sup>7</sup>

Among the various theological disputations held at Constanti-

<sup>6</sup> See now F. H. Fobes, "Mediaeval Versions of Aristotle's *Meteorology*", in *Classical Philology*, X. 297-314 (1915); and his edition of the Greek text (Cambridge, 1919). Cf. also C. Marchesi, "Di Alcuni Volgarizzamenti Toscani", in *Studi Romanzi*, V. 123-157 (1907). For the *Phaedo* the conjectures of F. Lo Parco, *Petrarca e Barlaam* (Reggio, 1905), should be mentioned.

<sup>7</sup> See, in general, G. Gradenigo, *Lettera intorno agli Italiani che seppero di Greco* (Venice, 1743). J. E. Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship* (second ed.), I. 557 ff., touches the matter very briefly.

nople in the course of the twelfth century, Anselm of Havelberg has left us an account of one before John Comnenos in 1136, at which

there were present not a few Latins, among them three wise men skilled in the two languages and most learned in letters, namely James a Venetian, Burgundio a Pisan, and the third, most famous among Greeks and Latins above all others for his knowledge of both literatures, Moses by name, an Italian from the city of Bergamo, and he was chosen by all to be a faithful interpreter for both sides.<sup>8</sup>

Each of these Italian scholars is known to us from other sources, and they stand out as the principal translators of the age, beyond the limits of the Sicilian kingdom.

Under the year 1128 we read in the chronicle of Robert of Torigni, abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel, and well informed respecting literary matters in Italy, that "James, a clerk of Venice, translated from Greek into Latin certain books of Aristotle and commented on them, namely the *Topics*, the *Prior* and *Posterior Analytics*, and the *Elenchi*, although there was an older version of these books".<sup>9</sup> Long the subject of doubt and discussion, this passage has recently been confirmed from an independent source,<sup>10</sup> so that James can be singled out as the first scholar of the twelfth century who brought the *New Logic* of Aristotle afresh to the attention of Latin Europe. What part his version had in the Aristotelian revival, and what its fate was as compared with the traditional rendering of Boethius, are questions which for our present purpose it is unnecessary to examine.

Moses of Bergamo evidently found his eastern connections by way of Venice.<sup>11</sup> He is the author of an important metrical description of Bergamo, and kept up relations with his native city through letters to his brother and through benefactions to various churches,

<sup>8</sup> L. d'Achery, *Spicilegium* (Paris, 1723), I. 172; cf. Dräseke, in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XXI. 160-185 (1900).

<sup>9</sup> Robert of Torigni, *Chronique*, ed. Delisle (Société de l'Histoire de Normandie), I. 177; *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, VI. 489.

<sup>10</sup> The preface to another version of the twelfth century which I discovered in the cathedral library of Toledo in 1913 and published in an article on "Mediaeval Versions of the Posterior Analytics", in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXV. 93 ff. (1914), where the problem of the diffusion of the *New Logic* is also discussed. For recent discussion of this problem, see Hofmeister, in *Neues Archiv*, XL. 454-456; Baeumker, in *Philosophisches Jahrbuch*, XXVIII. 320-326; Geyer, *ibid.*, XXX. 25-43. Geyer believes James of Venice to be the author of the version which became current.

<sup>11</sup> See Haskins, "Moses of Bergamo", in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXIII. 133-142 (1914).



but his messengers pass through Venice, and he lives in the Venetian quarter at Constantinople. Here he is found in the emperor's service in 1130, when he has lost by fire a precious collection of Greek manuscripts, brought together by long effort at the price of three pounds of gold. He tells us that he learned Greek for the special purpose of turning into Latin works not previously known in the West, but the only specimen which has been identified is a translation of an uninteresting theological compilation. He has also left grammatical *opuscula*, including a commentary on the Greek words in St. Jerome's prefaces, which attest his familiarity with the language and with the writings of the Greek grammarians. Apparently what we have left are only the fragmentary remains of a many-sided activity, as grammarian, translator, poet, and collector of manuscripts, which justifies us in considering him a prototype of the men who "settled *hoti's* business" in the fifteenth century.

Burgundio the Pisan is better known, by reason of his public career as well as of his indefatigable zeal as a translator.<sup>12</sup> Appearing first at the debate of 1136, he is found in legal documents at Pisa from 1147 to 1180, first as an advocate and later as a judge; he is sent on diplomatic missions to Ragusa in 1169 and to Constantinople in 1172,<sup>13</sup> and was present at the Lateran Council of 1179; and he died at a ripe old age in 1193. The sonorous inscription on his tomb is still preserved, celebrating this *doctor doctorum, gemma magistrorum*, eminent alike in law, in medicine, and in Greek and Latin letters; and this reputation is confirmed by the surviving manuscripts of his work.<sup>14</sup> Translation was evidently not the principal occupation of this distinguished career, indeed Burgundio tells us that one of his versions required the spare time of two years, but his long life made possible a very considerable literary output. Theology held the first place: John of Damascus, *De Orthodoxa Fide* (1148-1150), which had been "preached for four centuries as the

<sup>12</sup> See particularly G. M. Mazzuchelli, *Gli Scrittori d'Italia* (Brescia, 1753), vol. II., pt. III., pp. 1768-1770; [Fabroni], *Memorie Istoriche di più Uomini Illustri Pisani* (Pisa, 1790), I. 71-104; Savigny, *Geschichte des Römischen Rechts im Mittelalter* (1850), IV. 394-410; F. Buonamici, "Burgundio Pisano", in *Annali delle Università Toscane*, vol. XXVIII. (1908); P. H. Dausend, "Zur Uebersetzungsweise Burgundios von Pisa", in *Wiener Studien*, XXXV. 353-369 (1913).

<sup>13</sup> Besides the documents cited by Savigny, see G. Müller, *Documenti sulle Relazioni delle Città Toscane coll' Oriente* (Florence, 1879), pp. 18, 416 ff.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. his survey of previous translations, ancient and medieval, from the Greek, *infra*, note 56.

theological code of the Greek church";<sup>15</sup> the *Homilies* of John Chrysostom on Matthew (1151)<sup>16</sup> and John (1173)<sup>17</sup> and perhaps on Genesis (incomplete in 1179);<sup>18</sup> St. Basil on Isaiah (before 1154);<sup>19</sup> Nemesis, *De Natura Hominis*, dedicated to Frederick Barbarossa on his Italian expedition of 1155;<sup>20</sup> perhaps others.<sup>21</sup> Two of these versions were dedicated to Pope Eugene III., who secured a manuscript of Chrysostom from the patriarch of Antioch and persuaded Burgundio to undertake the task of turning it into Latin.<sup>22</sup> His results were used by the great theologians of the Western Church, such as Peter Lombard and Thomas Aquinas;<sup>23</sup> indeed he "made accessible to the West works which exercised great influence on the scholastics, the exegetes, the mystics, and the orators of the Middle Ages".<sup>24</sup> In medicine, Burgundio's name is attached to the Latin versions of ten works of Galen:<sup>25</sup> *De Sectis Medicorum*,<sup>26</sup> *De*

<sup>15</sup> J. Ghellinck, "Les Oeuvres de Jean de Damas en Occident au XII<sup>e</sup> Siècle", in *Revue des Questions Historiques*, LXXXVIII. 149-160, reprinted in his *Le Mouvement Théologique du XII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Paris, 1914), pp. 245-275, where further studies of Burgundio are promised. Cf. M. Grabmann, *Geschichte der Scholastischen Methode*, II. 93; P. Duhem, *Le Système du Monde*, III. 37.

<sup>16</sup> Preface in Martène and Durand, *Veterum Scriptorum Amplissima Collectio* (Paris, 1724), I. 817. On the date, cf. Dausend, in *Wiener Studien*, XXXV. 357.

<sup>17</sup> Preface, incomplete, Martène and Durand, p. 828; see note 56, below.

<sup>18</sup> Robert of Torigni, ed. Delisle, II. 109. Cf. C. Baur, *S. Jean Chrysostome*, p. 62.

<sup>19</sup> Savigny, IV. 401; *infra*, note 56, where a version of the Psalter is also mentioned.

<sup>20</sup> Preface in Martène and Durand, I. 827; text, ed. C. Burkhard, Vienna programmes, 1891-1902.

<sup>21</sup> Commentary of St. Paul, inferred from the sepulchral inscription; Athanasius, *De Fide*, conjectured by Bandini, *Catalogus*, IV. 455; St. Basil on Genesis (*ibid.*, IV. 437; *Codices Urbinates Latini*, I. 78); Chrysostom on Acts, R. Sabbadini, *Le Scoperte dei Codici: Nuove Ricerche* (Florence, 1914), p. 264.

<sup>22</sup> Martène and Durand, I. 817.

<sup>23</sup> Ghellinck, *loc. cit.*; G. Mercati, *Note di Letteratura Biblica* (Rome, 1901), pp. 141-144.

<sup>24</sup> Mercati, p. 142. His Chrysostom is cited as late as Poggio; *Sitzungsberichte* of the Vienna Academy, LXI. 409.

<sup>25</sup> The elaborate catalogue of Greek MSS. and translations of Galen published by H. Diels, "Die Handschriften der Antiken Aertzte", in *Abhandlungen* of the Berlin Academy (1905), pt. I., pp. 58-150, does not ordinarily indicate the authorship of the Latin versions, which in many cases still remains to be investigated. Evidently some of Burgundio's work was revised in the fourteenth century by Nicholas of Reggio and Peter of Abano. For Nicholas see F. Lo Parco, "Niccolò da Reggio", in *Atti della R. Accademia di Archeologia di Napoli*, n. s., vol. II., pt. II., pp. 241-317. There may be some confusion with a Johannes de Burgundia, to whom is ascribed a treatise *De Morbo Epidemie* in Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. 1102, f. 53, MS. 1144, f. 110 v.; and in Caius College, MS. 336, f. 144 v.

*Temperamentis*,<sup>27</sup> *De Virtutibus Naturalibus*,<sup>28</sup> *De Sanitate Tuenda*,<sup>29</sup> *De Differentiis Februm*, *De Locis Affectis*,<sup>30</sup> *De Compendiositate Pulsus*,<sup>31</sup> *De Differentiis Pulsuum*,<sup>32</sup> *De Crisibus*,<sup>33</sup> and *Therapeutica (Methodi Medendi)*,<sup>34</sup> while his translation of the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates is cited in the thirteenth century as preferable to that from the Arabic.<sup>35</sup> In a quite different field, he turned into Latin a treatise on the culture of the vine,<sup>36</sup> doubtless for the practical benefit of his native Tuscany, just as a Strassburg scholar of the sixteenth century sought to help the vineyards of the Rhine by translating extracts from the same *Geoponica*.<sup>37</sup> As a lawyer, too, he had opportunity to apply his knowledge of Greek to translating the Greek quotations in the *Digest*,<sup>38</sup> for which he appears to have used the text of the famous Pisan manuscript. He is freely credited

<sup>29</sup> "Translatio greca est Burgundionis". Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Lat. 6865, f. 81; Diels, p. 60.

<sup>27</sup> "Explicit liber Galieni de complexionibus translatus a Burgundione cive Pisano secundum novam translationem". Vatican, MS. Barberini Lat. 179, f. 14 v.; MS. unknown to Diels, p. 64.

<sup>28</sup> Prag, Public Library, MS. 1404; not in Diels, p. 66.

<sup>29</sup> Diels, p. 75; Lo Parco, "Niccolò da Reggio", p. 282 ff.

<sup>30</sup> "Explicit liber Galieni de interioribus secundum novam translationem Burgundii". Vatican, MS. Barb. Lat. 179, f. 36 v.; MS. not in Diels, p. 85.

<sup>31</sup> "Finis libri qui est de compendio pulsus a Burgundione iudice cive Pisano de greco in latinum translatus". Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Lat. 15460, f. 111 v.; MS. not in Diels, p. 86. For the *De Differentiis Februm* the Latin MSS. are cited by Diels, p. 80.

<sup>32</sup> Diels, p. 87.

<sup>33</sup> Munich, Cod. Lat. 35; Diels, p. 90.

<sup>34</sup> "Expletus est liber tarapeutice cum additionibus magistri Petri de Ebano que deficiunt ex translatione Burgundionis civis Pisani". Vatican, MS. Barb. Lat. 178, f. 44 v.; not in Diels, p. 92. Cf. G. Valentinelli, *Bibliotheca Manuscripta ad S. Marci Venetiarum*, V. 79, and MS. Madrid 1978 (L. 60), f. 45 v.

<sup>35</sup> Puccinotti, *Storia della Medicina* (Leghorn, 1850), vol. II., pt. II., p. 290; Neuburger, *Geschichte der Medizin* (Stuttgart, 1906), vol. II., pt. I., p. 375. As cited by Diels, pp. 14-16, the Latin MSS. do not mention Burgundio.

<sup>36</sup> Edited by Buonamici, in *Annali delle Università Toscane*, vol. XXVIII. (1908). Incomplete MS. also in the Ambrosian, MS. C. 10, sup., f. 118 v.; also formerly at Erfurt (W. Schum, *Beschreibendes Verzeichniss der Amplonianischen Handschriften-Sammlung*, p. 802) and at Peterhouse, Cambridge (James, *Catalogue*, p. 11).

<sup>37</sup> *Serapeum*, XVII. 287 ff.

<sup>38</sup> Savigny, IV. 403-410; Mommsen, *Digesta*, editio maior (1876), I. 35\*; H. Fitting, "Bernardus Cremonensis und die Lateinische Uebersetzung des Griechischen in den Digesten", in Berlin *Sitzungsberichte* (1894), II. 813-820; N. Tamassia, "Per la Storia dell' Autentico", in *Atti del R. Istituto Veneto*, LVI. 607-610 (1898). I agree with Savigny that there is no evidence that Burgundio translated the *Novels*, and that the reference to them in the preface to his translation of Chrysostom's St. John (see below, note 56) shows that Burgundio accepted the extant version as a literal translation made at Justinian's order.

with the Latin version by the glossators of the thirteenth century, and, as in the case of his theological and medical translations, the results of his work passed into the general tradition of the later Middle Ages.

Less noteworthy than Burgundio, two other members of the Pisan colony should also be mentioned, Hugo Eterianus and his brother Leo, generally known as Leo Tuscus. Hugo, though master of both tongues, was not so much a translator as an active advocate of Latin doctrine in controversy with Greek theologians, a polemic career which was crowned with a cardinal's hat by Lucius III. Leo, an interpreter in the emperor's household, translated the mass of St. Chrysostom and a dream-book (*Oneirocriticon*) of Ahmed ben Sirin. Another dream-book, compiled by one Pascal the Roman at Constantinople in 1165, offers further illustration of the interest in signs and wonders which prevailed at Manuel's court.<sup>39</sup>

North of the Alps there is little to record in the way of translation, although it is probable that certain of the anonymous translators who worked in Italy came from other lands. In 1167 a certain William the Physician, originally from Gap in Provence, brought back Greek manuscripts from Constantinople to the monastery of Saint-Denis at Paris,<sup>40</sup> where he later became abbot (1172-1186). Sent out originally by Abbot Odo, he was evidently specially charged with securing the works attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite, who was confused with the patron saint of the monastery and of France, and a volume of these which he brought back is still preserved among the Greek codices of the Bibliothèque Nationale.<sup>41</sup> He also brought with him and translated the text of the *Vita Secundi*, a philosophical text of the second century,<sup>42</sup> and summaries (*hypotheses*) of the Pauline epistles, while still other manuscripts may have been included in the *opes atticas et orientales* mentioned by one of his fellow-monks. This monk, also named William and sometimes confused with the physician, translated the eulogy of Dionysius by Michael Syncellus, but the writings which occupy the remainder of the Dionysian volume—*De Caelesti Hierarchia*, *De Ecclesiastica*

<sup>39</sup> See my note on "Leo Tuscus", in *English Historical Review*, XXXIII. 492-496 (1918).

<sup>40</sup> The material relating to William the Physician is conveniently given by Delisle, in *Journal des Savants*, 1900, pp. 725-739.

<sup>41</sup> MS. Gr. 933.

<sup>42</sup> Delisle, in *Journal des Savants*, p. 728. The version is critically edited, and its use by French writers traced, by A. Hilka in 88. *Jahresbericht der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für Vaterländische Cultur* (Breslau, 1910), IV. Abt., c. 1. See further F. Pfister, in *Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie*, 1911, coll. 539-548.

*Hierarchia*, *De Divinis Nominibus*, *De Mystica Theologia*, and ten epistles—were rendered into Latin by John Sarrazin.<sup>43</sup> This John had himself visited the Greek East, where he had sought in vain the *Symbolica Theologia* of Dionysius, as we learn from one of his prefaces.<sup>44</sup> In spite of the crudeness of his translations, his learning was valued by John of Salisbury, who turns to him on a point of Greek which Latin masters cannot explain, and who even expresses a desire to sit at Sarrazin's feet.<sup>45</sup>

The dependence of the leading classicist of the age upon a man like Sarrazin shows the general ignorance of Greek. "The most learned man of his time", John of Salisbury made no less than ten journeys to Italy, in the course of which he visited Benevento and made the acquaintance of the Sicilian chancellor; he knew Burgundio, whom he cites on a point in the history of philosophy;<sup>46</sup> he studied with a Greek interpreter of Santa Severina, to whom he may have owed his early familiarity with the *New Logic*; yet his culture remained essentially Latin.<sup>47</sup> "He never quotes from any Greek author unless that author exists in a Latin translation."<sup>48</sup> Greek could be learned only in southern Italy or the East, and few there were who learned it, as one can see from the sorry list of Greek references which have been culled from the whole seventy volumes of the Latin *Patrologia* for the twelfth century.<sup>49</sup> The Hellenism of the Middle Ages was a Hellenism of translations—and so, in large measure, was the Hellenism of the Italian Renaissance.<sup>50</sup>

Finally there remain to be mentioned the anonymous transla-

<sup>43</sup> Delisle, p. 726 ff.; *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, XIV. 191-193. MSS. of these translations, with the prefaces, are common, e.g., Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS. 529; Chartres, MS. 131; Vatican, MS. Vat. Lat. 175; Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS. 523 (A. 90); Munich, MSS. 380, 435.

<sup>44</sup> Delisle, p. 727.

<sup>45</sup> *Epistolae*, no. 169; cf. also nos. 147, 149, 223, 229, 230.

<sup>46</sup> *Metaphysica*, bk. IV., c. 7.

<sup>47</sup> Schaarschmidt, *Johannes Saresberiensis* (Leipzig, 1862); Poole, in *Dictionary of National Biography*; C. C. I. Webb, *Ioannis Saresberiensis Policraticus*, vol. I., introd.

<sup>48</sup> Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship* (second ed.), I. 540.

<sup>49</sup> How sorry this list is, the Abbé A. Tougaard does not seem to realize when he has drawn it up. *L'Hellénisme dans les Écrivains du Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1886), ch. V. On the reserve necessary in using such citations, cf. Traube, *O Roma Nobilis* (Munich, 1891), p. 65. On Greek in the twelfth century, see Sandys, pp. 555-558. Miss Loomis, *Medieval Hellenism* (Columbia thesis, 1906), adds nothing on this period.

<sup>50</sup> Loomis, "The Greek Renaissance in Italy", in *American Historical Review*, XIII. 246-258 (1908).



tions, made for the most part doubtless in Italy. Where we are fortunate enough to have the prefaces, these works can be dated approximately and some facts can be determined with respect to their authors, as in the case of the first Latin version of the *Almagest*, made in Sicily about 1160, and a version of Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics* (1128-1159) preserved in a manuscript of the cathedral of Toledo.<sup>51</sup> In the majority of cases no such evidence has been handed down, and we have no guide beyond the dates of codices and the citations of texts in a form directly derived from the Greek. Until investigation has proceeded considerably further than at present, the work of the twelfth century in many instances cannot clearly be separated from that of the earlier Middle Ages on the one hand, and on the other from that of the translators of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries who follow in unbroken succession. Often we know only that a particular work had been translated from the Greek before the time of the humanists. The most important body of material with which the twelfth century may have occupied itself anonymously is the writings of Aristotle.<sup>52</sup> The *Physics*, *Metaphysics*, and briefer works on natural history reach western Europe about 1200; the *Politics*, *Ethics*, *Rhetoric*, and *Economics* only in the course of the next two generations. In nearly every instance translations are found both from the Greek and from the Arabic, and nearly all are undated. At present about all that can be said is that by the turn of the century traces are found of versions from the Greek in the case of the *Physics*, *De Caelo*, *De Anima*, and the *Parva Naturalia*.<sup>53</sup> The *Metaphysics* seems to have come from Constantinople shortly after 1204.<sup>54</sup>

On the personal side these Hellenists of the twelfth century have left little of themselves. James of Venice is only a name; the translator of the *Almagest* is not even that. Moses of Bergamo we know slightly through the accident which has preserved one of his letters; others survive almost wholly through their prefaces. Characteristic traits or incidents are few—Moses lamenting the loss of

<sup>51</sup> *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXI. 99; XXV. 98.

<sup>52</sup> The fundamental work of A. Jourdain, *Recherches Critiques sur l'Age et l'Origine des Traductions Latines d'Aristote* (Paris, 1843), has now been supplemented by M. Grabmann, "Forschungen über die Lateinischen Aristotelesübersetzungen des XIII. Jahrhunderts", in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, vol. XVII. (Münster, 1916). For a summary of the problem, see Mandonnet, *Siger de Brabant* (Louvain, 1911), pp. 9-15.

<sup>53</sup> *Harvard Studies*, XXV. 87-89; Baeumker, in *Münch. Sitzungsberichte* (1913), no. 9, pp. 33 ff. For the *Meteorology*, see above, note 6.

<sup>54</sup> Grabmann, "Forschungen", pp. 124-137.

his Greek library, and the three pounds of gold it had cost him; the Pisan secretary of Manuel Comnenos trailing after the emperor on the tortuous marches of his Turkish campaigns; Burgundio redeeming his son's soul from purgatory by translating Chrysostom in the leisure moments of his diplomatic journeys; a Salerno student of medicine braving the terrors of Scylla and Charybdis in order to see an astronomical manuscript just arrived from Constantinople, and remaining in Sicily until he had mastered its contents and made them available to the Latin world; Aristippus working over Plato in camp and investigating the phenomena of Etna's eruptions in the spirit of the elder Pliny; Eugene the Emir, in prison at the close of his public career, writing Greek verse in praise of solitude and books. Little enough all this, but sufficient to show the kinship of these men with "the ancient and universal company of scholars".

In all its translations the twelfth century was closely, even painfully literal, in a way that is apt to suggest the stumbling and conscientious school-boy. Every Greek word had to be represented by a Latin equivalent, even to *μέν* and *δέ*. Sarrazin laments that he cannot render phrases introduced by the article, and even attempts to imitate Greek compounds by running Latin words together.<sup>55</sup> The versions were so slavish that they are useful for establishing the Greek text, particularly where they represent a tradition older than the extant manuscripts. This method, *de verbo ad verbum*, was, however, followed not from ignorance but of set purpose, as Burgundio, for example, is at pains to explain in one of his prefaces.<sup>56</sup> The texts which these scholars rendered were authorities in

<sup>55</sup> John of Salisbury, *Epistolae*, nos. 149, 230; cf. William the Physician, in *Journal des Savants*, 1900, p. 738.

<sup>56</sup> "Verens igitur ego Burgundio ne, si sententiam huius sancti patris commentacionis assumens meo eam more dictarem, in aliquo alterutrorum horum duorum sapientissimorum virorum sentenciis profundam mentem mutarem et in tam magna re, cum sint verba fidei, periculum lapsus alicuius alteritatis incurrerem, difficiliter iter arripiens, et verba et significationem eandem et stilum et ordinem eundem qui apud Grecos est in hac mea translatione servare disposui. Sed et veteres tam Grecorum quam et Latinorum interpretes hec eadem continue egisse perhibentur", the Septuagint being an example. "Sanctus vero Basilius predictum Ysaïam prophetam exponens lxx duorum interpretum editione mirabiliter ad litteram commentatur, eiusque commentacionem ego Burgundio iudex domino tercio Eugenio beate memorie pape de verbo verbum transferens ex predicta lxx duorum interpretum editione facta antiquam nostram translationem in omnibus fere sum prosequutus. Cum Sancti Ieronimi novam suam editionem nullatenus ibi expositam invenirem nec eam sequi ullo modo mea commentacione possem, psalterium quoque de verbo ad verbum de greco in latinum translatus est sermonem". He then passes in review the various literal translations previously made from the Greek—the Twelve Tables, the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, the *Dialogues*

a sense that the modern world has lost, and their words were not to be trifled with. Who was Aristippus that he should omit any of the sacred words of Plato?<sup>57</sup> Better carry over a word like *didascalía* than run any chance of altering the meaning of Aristotle.<sup>58</sup> Bur Gundio might even be in danger of heresy if he put anything of his own instead of the very words of Chrysostom. It was natural in the fifteenth century to pour contempt on such translating, even as the humanists satirized the Latin of the monks, but the men of the Renaissance did not scruple to make free use of these older versions, to an extent which we are just beginning to realize. Instead of striking out boldly for themselves, the translators of the Quattrocento were apt to take an older version where they could, touching it up to suit current taste. As examples may be cited the humanistic editions of Aristotle's *Logic*, of Chrysostom and John of Damascus, and even of Plato.<sup>59</sup> It has always been easier to ridicule Dryasdust than to dispense with him!

Apart from such unacknowledged use during the Renaissance, the translators of the twelfth century made a solid contribution to the culture of the later Middle Ages. Where they came into competition with translations from the Arabic, it was soon recognized that they were more faithful and trustworthy. At their best the Arabic versions were one remove further from the original and had passed through the refracting medium of a wholly different kind of language,<sup>60</sup> while at their worst they were made in haste and with the

of Gregory the Great, Chalcidius's version of the *Timaeus*, Priscian, Boëthius, the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates and the *Tegni* of Galen, John the Scot's version of Dionysius the Areopagite, and the *De Urinis* of Theophilus—and concludes: "Si enim alienam materiam tuam tuique iuris vis esse putari, non verbo verbum, ut ait Oratius, curabis reddere ut fidus interpres, ymo eius materiei sententiam sumens tui eam dictaminis compagine explicabis, et ita non interpres eris sed ex te tua propria composuisse videberis. Quod et Tullius et Terentius se fecisse testantur. . . . Cum igitur hec mea translatio scriptura sancta sit et in hoc meo labore non gloriam sed peccatorum meorum et filii mei veniam Domini expectavi, merito huic sancto patri nostro Iohanni Crisostomo sui operis gloriam et apud Latinos conservans, verbum ex verbo statui transferendum, deficientiam quidem dictionum intervenientem duabus vel etiam tribus dictionibus adiectis replens, idyoma vero quod barbarismo vel metaplasmo vel scemate vel tropo fit recta et propria sermocinacione retorquens". Preface to translation of Chrysostom's St. John, Vatican, MS. Ottoboni Lat. 227, ff. lv-2. For specimens of Bur Gundio's method, see Dausend, in *Wiener Studien*, XXXV. 353-369.

<sup>57</sup> Even to the point of rendering *re kal by que et*. *Rassegna Bibliografica della Letteratura Italiana*, XIII. 12.

<sup>58</sup> *Harvard Studies*, XXV. 98.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, XXI. 88, XXV. 105; *Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie*, 1896, col. 1097.

<sup>60</sup> Eugene of Palermo remarks on the difference of Arabic idiom. G. Govi, *L'Ottica di Claudio Tolomeo* (Turin, 1885), p. 3.

aid of ignorant interpreters working through the Spanish vernacular.<sup>61</sup> It was more or less a matter of accident whether the version from the Greek or that from the Arabic should pass into general circulation; thus the Sicilian translation of the *Almagest*, though earlier, is known in but three copies, while that made in Spain is found everywhere; but in the case of Aristotle the two sets of renderings existed side by side. The list of works known only through the Greek of the twelfth century is, however, considerable. It comprises the *Meno* and *Phaedo* of Plato, the only other dialogue known to the Middle Ages being the *Timaeus*, in an older version; the advanced works of Euclid; Proclus and Hero; numerous treatises of Galen; Chrysostom, Basil, Nemesisius, John of Damascus, and the Pseudo-Dionysius; and a certain amount of scattered material, theological, legendary, and liturgical.<sup>62</sup>

The absence of the classical works of literature and history is as significant in this list as it is in the curriculum of the medieval universities. We are in the twelfth century, not the fifteenth, and the interest in medicine, mathematics, philosophy, and theology reflects the practical and ecclesiastical preoccupations of the age rather than the wider interests of the humanists. It is well, however, to remember that these same authors continue to be read in the Quattrocento, in translations new or old; they are merely crowded into the background by the newer learning. In this sense there is continuity between the two periods. There is also a certain amount of continuity in the materials of scholarship—individual manuscripts of the earlier period gathered into libraries at Venice or Paris, the library of the Sicilian kings probably forming the nucleus of the Greek collections of the Vatican.<sup>63</sup> To what extent there was a continuous influence of Hellenism is a more difficult problem, in view of our fragmentary knowledge of conditions of the south. The Sicilian translators of the twelfth century are followed directly by those at the courts of Frederick II. and Manfred, while in the fourteenth century we have to remember the sojourn of Petrarch at the court of Robert of Naples, and the Calabrian Greek who taught Boccaccio. The gap is short, but it cannot yet be bridged.

CHARLES H. HASKINS.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Rose, in *Hermes*, VIII. 335 ff.

<sup>62</sup> Sabbadini, *Le Scoperte dei Codici: Nuove Ricerche*, pp. 262–265, gives a list of medieval versions from which Euclid, Hero, and the *Geoponica* are absent.

<sup>63</sup> See the studies of Heiberg and Ehrle cited in *Harvard Studies*, XXV. 89, note.

NEW LIGHT ON THE ORIGINS OF THE WORLD WAR,  
I. BERLIN AND VIENNA, TO JULY 29

AFTER the revolution of November 9, 1918, the new German republic at once made Karl Kautsky assistant secretary of state for foreign affairs, and authorized him to edit the documents which would throw light on the origins of the World War. By March, 1919, he and his assistants had carefully copied, dated, arranged, and annotated a mass of papers contained in eighteen volumes in the archives of the Foreign Office. He was eager to publish this material as soon as possible during the Peace Conference at Versailles, in order to convince the world how completely the new régime had broken with the old Junker rulers of 1914. But the Ebert government feared that Kautsky's known opposition to the Kaiser and the old imperial government might lay his edition of the documents open to the charge of party bias. It therefore delayed its publication until it could be examined and edited by three scholars of different political views, Dr. Walter Schücking, Count Montgelas, and Professor Mendelssohn-Bartholdy. These co-editors found that Kautsky had done his work most conscientiously and carefully. Meanwhile, however, in June, the Ebert government published a *White Book, Germany Guilty?*, drawn up by Hans Delbrück, the well-known historian, Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Count Montgelas, and Max Weber. It was intended as a reply to the report which the Allied commissioners at Versailles had made on the responsibility for the war.<sup>1</sup> But as it repeated many of the old arguments of 1914, trying to exculpate Germany and throw the blame on Austria, it had quite the opposite effect from convincing the world that the new Germany had completely broken with the past. This *White Book*, as Kautsky bitterly complained, was nothing but a "white-washing book". He felt all the more aggrieved because he himself had already written a book on the causes of the war, quoting large extracts from the documents, but had agreed not to make it public until after the documents had been officially published. In December, 1919, after many delays, the documents were finally published by the co-editors, in four volumes.<sup>2</sup> They comprise 1123 docu-

<sup>1</sup> *Deutschland Schuldig? Deutsches Weissbuch über die Verantwortlichkeit der Urheber des Krieges* (Berlin, 1919).

<sup>2</sup> *Die Deutschen Dokumente zum Kriegsausbruch: Vollständige Sammlung der von Karl Kautsky zusammengestellten Amtlichen Aktenstücke* (Charlotten-



ments, of which 937 are given *in extenso* and the remainder in a sufficiently full summary. Included also are the complete texts of the secret Triple and Rumanian alliances, translations of which have recently been edited by Professor Coolidge.<sup>3</sup> There is no reason to believe that any material documents which passed through the German Foreign Office have been deliberately withheld by the editors.<sup>4</sup> The editors have wisely refrained, absolutely, from all subjective comment, but have conveniently given cross-references, indexes, and all existing official indications as to the exact day, hour, and minute, when despatches were sent and received. This precise information, unfortunately lacking in the various colored books issued at the beginning of the war, now makes it possible to determine just how much an official knew when he took an action; it enables one to judge with nicety as to the motives, honesty, and ability of the men in charge of Germany in 1914. Most interesting from the point of view of the Kaiser's psychology are his numerous marginal annotations, which have been much featured in the press, and which led Kautsky to many jibes at royalty revealed in *Unterhosen*.<sup>5</sup>

As publication of the official compilation of documents was still delayed beyond the date agreed, Kautsky's publishers at last lost patience and published in November, 1919, the work which he had written in the preceding May, *How the World War arose*.<sup>6</sup> It is distinctly a partizan attack on the old régime, and is, of course, much less trustworthy than the documents themselves.<sup>7</sup>

In Vienna Dr. Richard Gooss did for the Austrian Foreign Office what Kautsky had done for the German. He edited anonymously, without such detailed information as to dates, a three-volume *Red Book* containing 352 documents, dealing with the four

burg, 1919); referred to hereafter not by page but by document number, as "*Kautsky Docs.*" For Count Montgelas's own interesting account of the documents, see *Littell's Living Age*, January 24, 1919, pp. 218-220.

<sup>3</sup> A. F. Pribram, *The Secret Treaties of Austria-Hungary, 1879-1914*, ed. A. C. Coolidge (Cambridge, 1920).

<sup>4</sup> There may, however, very probably be documents which did not pass through the Foreign Office, which may yet be published. There are no documents from the General Staff except a few sent in to the Foreign Office. These would of course give needed light on the vexed question of mobilization.

<sup>5</sup> Some are reproduced in *Littell's Living Age*, January 10, 1920, pp. 63-67.

<sup>6</sup> K. Kautsky, *Wie der Weltkrieg entstand* (Berlin, 1919). As this pamphlet, costing only six marks, tended to injure the sale of the official documentary compilation, published a few days later and costing five times as much, he was sued on December 10 for breaking his agreement about priority of publication. Cf. *New York Times*, February 9, 1920.

<sup>7</sup> It is subjected to severe criticism by Hans Delbrück, "Die Kautsky Papiere", in *Preussische Jahrbücher*, CLXXIX. 71-100 (January, 1920).

weeks prior to the outbreak of war.<sup>8</sup> Like Kautsky, he also published prior to his official compilation a volume summing up his own conclusions and interpretations.<sup>9</sup> It is a valuable book, more temperate than Kautsky's, and contains much information not given in the *Red Book*.

It is curious to see how zealously each of these two men, after studying one set of documents, assigns exclusively the whole blame for the war to his own former government. According to Kautsky, Germany eagerly pushed a hesitating Berchtold into the attack on Serbia and a world war. According to Gooss the unsuspecting Emperor William was the sacrificial lamb offered up on the altar of Berchtold's reckless perfidy and obstinacy.

In addition to the *Kautsky Documents* and the *Red Book*, the two great sources on which writers will largely base the future war of words as to the immediate responsibility for the World War, a flood of exculpatory memoirs and pamphlets followed the German collapse of 1918, similar to that which followed the French débâcle of 1870. Jagow<sup>10</sup> rests his work mainly on his reply to Lichnowsky,<sup>11</sup> and on the already well-known material in the various colored books.<sup>12</sup> Pourtalès,<sup>13</sup> the German ambassador at Petrograd, gives a very straightforward account of his share in the events at Petrograd and of his honest efforts to carry out the instructions of his government to keep Russia quiet and preserve the peace by localizing the conflict. His narrative is based on the contemporary notes which he made on his journey home in August, 1914,<sup>14</sup> and on the embassy telegrams which he appears to have taken with him. Bethmann-Hollweg's *Observations*<sup>15</sup> still insist that England was chiefly responsible for the war: England encouraged Russia with

<sup>8</sup> *Diplomatische Aktenstücke zur Vorgeschichte des Krieges, 1914: Ergänzungen und Nachträge zum Oest.-Ungar. Rotbuch* (Vienna, 1919, 3 vols.); quoted hereafter as *Red Book*.

<sup>9</sup> *Das Wiener Kabinett und die Entstehung des Weltkrieges* (Vienna, 1919).

<sup>10</sup> G. von Jagow, *Ursachen und Ausbruch des Weltkrieges* (Berlin, February, 1919).

<sup>11</sup> First printed in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, March 23, 1918, and translated with Lichnowsky's own Memorandum in *Disclosures from Germany* (American Association for International Conciliation, June, 1918), no. 127, pp. 352-357.

<sup>12</sup> *Collected Diplomatic Correspondence relating to the Outbreak of the European War* (London, 1915); quoted hereafter as *Dipl. Corresp.*

<sup>13</sup> Graf Pourtalès, *Am Scheidewege zwischen Krieg und Frieden* (Berlin, February, 1919).

<sup>14</sup> Published in *Kautsky Docs.*, app. V.

<sup>15</sup> Bethmann-Hollweg, *Betrachtungen zum Weltkrieg* (Berlin, May, 1919).

the hope of support, and Russia was consequently encouraged to interfere in the Austro-Serbian crisis which Germany had intended to localize. Tirpitz,<sup>16</sup> however, like Lichnowsky, takes Bethmann severely to task for having trusted too optimistically in thinking that Russia and France would not dare to call the bluff which Germany was allowing Austria to make. Helfferich<sup>17</sup> agrees with Tirpitz that the German Foreign Office and the German people made their great mistake in taking the Serajevo crime so calmly and in thinking that war could be avoided as in 1909 and the later Balkan crises, if only Germany and Austria stood firm.

The Austrians, and with good reason, have made little effort to exculpate themselves. Berchtold, who more than any one else was responsible for the World War, has kept silent except for a very short and lame letter of excuse.<sup>18</sup> Count Czernin's interesting volume deals mainly with diplomacy during the war, but in an introductory chapter he expresses the view, in which there may be truth, that the German ambassador at Vienna, Tschirschky, like so many German militarists, "was firmly persuaded that in the very near future Germany would have to go through a war against France and Russia, and he considered that the year 1914 would be more favorable than a later date. . . . That, however, was his policy, not Bethmann's." Tschirschky was one of those ambassadors who "did not keep to the instructions from their governments; they communicated messages correctly enough, but if their personal opinion differed, they made no secret of it, and it certainly weighed in the balance".<sup>19</sup> Count Tisza, the Hungarian premier, by what we know of his character and attitude in July, 1914, might have been able to tell the truth fearlessly, but he lies in a bloody grave, assassinated, his lips sealed forever.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>16</sup> A. von Tirpitz, *Erinnerungen* (Leipzig, April, 1919). Lord Haldane, who had such good opportunities to judge Bethmann and Tirpitz from personal contact, gives an admirable review of their books in his own volume, *Before the War* (London, 1920), pp. 101-173. See also reviews of Tirpitz and Helfferich by Professor Gauss, pp. 496-500, above.

<sup>17</sup> K. Helfferich, *Die Vorgeschichte des Weltkrieges* (Berlin, March, 1919).

<sup>18</sup> Letter to K. H. von Wiegand, in *Chicago Herald and Examiner*, October 10, 1919; reprinted as an appendix in Goričar, *The Inside Story of Austro-German Intrigue* (New York, 1920), pp. 299-301.

<sup>19</sup> Count Czernin, *In the World War* (New York, 1919), pp. 9-11.

<sup>20</sup> See "Some New Sources of European History", by "Tramontana" in *The New Europe*, nos. 162, 163, 167 (November 20, 27, December 25, 1919). See also C. Oman, *The Outbreak of the War of 1914-1918* (London, 1919); M. Ritter, "Deutschland und der Ausbruch des Weltkrieges", in *Historische Zeitschrift*, CXXI. 23-92 (1919); K. F. Nowak, *Der Weg zur Katastrophe* (Berlin,

During the quarter of a century following Bismarck's dismissal in 1890, the Triple Alliance had lost much of that dominating position in Europe which he had left as his heritage to the irresponsible, ambitious, erratic young master who succeeded him. Emperor William by a series of often well-intentioned, but usually ill-judged, moves, had essentially weakened, instead of strengthened, Germany's diplomatic position. He had lowered her prestige and had alarmed his neighbors who consequently drew closer together. The Triple Entente, in spite of its exterior position, divergent interests, and different forms of government as represented by republican France and autocratic Russia, represented in man-power and sea-power a far stronger combination than that of the Triple Alliance supported by Rumania. Moreover, the Triple Alliance was beginning to develop dangerous disruptive tendencies within itself. Italy held close to her old friendship with England, and since 1902 had begun to coquette with France. She had not hesitated to embarrass the Triple Alliance by her attack on Germany's friends in 1911, and she had developed inconvenient ambitions in the Balkans, antagonistic to Austria's interests, ambitions which found expression at the renewal of the Triple Alliance in 1912, and in her alleged refusal to back Austria in action against Serbia in August, 1913. Above all, Italy's nationalistic aspirations and traditions made her people still hate her Austrian ally, and covet the *terra irredenta* still under Austrian domination.<sup>21</sup> Similarly, Tisza's nationalistic Magyar policy toward the Rumanians in Hungary had created such a strong anti-Austrian feeling in Rumania that King Carol admitted his doubt whether in the event of an Austro-Russian war he could stand against public feeling and fulfill his obligations to the Triple Alliance. He even seemed to be shifting to the side of Russia, judging at any rate by the tsar's visit to Bucharest in the spring of 1914 to attend a marriage uniting the royal houses of Russia and Rumania.

But the most ominous danger for the Triple Alliance lay in the situation in Austria. The disruptive tendency of the increasingly powerful nationalistic aspirations of the subject nationalities had long led political Cassandras to prophesy the dissolution of the Dual

1919); Morgenthau, *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story* (New York, 1918); R. Hoeniger, *Russlands Vorbereitung zum Weltkrieg* (Berlin, 1919); Lord Loreburn, *How the War came* (London, 1918); and Goričar, *The Inside Story of Austro-German Intrigue* (New York, 1920).

<sup>21</sup> The strength of this popular feeling and San Giuliano's consequent pessimism on the subject of the Triple Alliance, even before Austria's ultimatum to Serbia, are strikingly revealed in the numerous despatches of Flotow, the German ambassador at Rome. *Kautsky Docs.*, nos. 59, 60, 64, 73, 75, 78, 109, 119.

Monarchy upon the death of its venerable ruler. Though Emperor William had stood beside his ally "in shining armor" at the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Great-Serbian movement had grown menacingly stronger. In spite of Serbia's official promises to Austria in 1909, Austria still feared that a Greater Serbia might one day wrench away from Austria not only Bosnia but also her other Jugo-Slav districts. This fear had been increased by the unexpected events of the Balkan wars, which had so greatly weakened Turkey and extended Serbia directly athwart the projected Austrian avenue to Salonica. Austria suspected in the spring of 1914 that Russia and France were secretly urging on the Pan-Serbian movement and encouraging the formation of a new Balkan alliance of which Serbia was to be the head and of which the purpose was the uniting of all Jugo-Slavs under Serbian rule.<sup>22</sup>

While the Triple Alliance was weakened by rifts within, its leaders began to suffer from the "encirclement" nightmare. They saw that the members of the Triple Entente were drawing more closely to one another and strengthening themselves internally. In June, 1912, the Franco-Russian alliance was strengthened by a naval convention between the two countries.<sup>23</sup> In November this was supplemented by a naval understanding between England and France,<sup>24</sup> which enabled England to concentrate her naval forces in the English Channel, while the French navy could look after England's interests in the Mediterranean. On April 2, 1914, Sazonov wrote to Izvolski, the Russian minister at Paris, that the Triple Entente ought to be strengthened and extended into a regular Triple Alliance. Accordingly when King George, accompanied by Sir Edward Grey, visited Paris in the following month, the French naval minister on behalf of Russia suggested the adoption of a similar naval arrangement between Russia and England.

Grey was unwilling to enter into any formal binding alliance with Russia, but consented to carry on further naval discussions, and a Russian naval officer was sent, in strictest secrecy, to London from Petrograd. At a conference of Russian officials on May 26, at which the chief of the Russian naval staff presided, Russia had de-

<sup>22</sup> *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 14; *Red Book*, vol. I., nos. 2, 8; Gooss, p. 4; Bethmann-Hollweg, pp. 115-122; Jagow, pp. 75-81; Ritter, p. 49; Boghitchewitsch, *Kriegsursachen*, p. 7.

<sup>23</sup> *Deutschland Schuldig?*, p. 168; *Russian Documents* (Amer. Assoc. for Int. Concil., March, 1919), no. 136, p. 532.

<sup>24</sup> Published in *Dipl. Corresp.*, pp. 79-82, but discovered in some way by the Germans apparently as early as March, 1913. Cf. *Nordd. Allg. Zeitung*, October 16, 1914; *New York Times*, November 8, 1914, p. 6.

cided to ask England to agree to a naval convention, which should provide for a co-operative action between the Russian and English fleets, such as had already been adopted between France and England.

An agreement must be reached concerning signals and special ciphers, radio-telegrams, and the mode of communication between the Russian and English naval staffs. Besides this the two naval staffs are to inform each other regularly about the fleets of third powers and about their own navies, in particular about technical data and newly introduced machines and inventions. . . . The Russian naval agreement with England, like the Franco-Russian agreement, is to make provision for actions of the Russian and English navies, which, previously agreed upon, are to be fought separately.<sup>25</sup>

The negotiations gave rise to so many rumors and suspicions that Grey was interpellated on the subject in the House of Commons in June. In reply he repeated Asquith's statement of the year before, which still held good, that

there were no unpublished agreements with European powers apt to restrain or hem in the free decision of the Government or Parliament as to whether England was to participate in a war or not. No negotiations with any power had since been concluded which would detract from the truth of the declaration in question. No such negotiations were in progress, nor was it likely, as far as he could judge, that such would be entered upon.

But Grey's denial, though within the letter of the truth, did not satisfy either English newspapers like the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Daily News*, nor, much less, the *Berlin Tageblatt* and the German Foreign Office. The latter finally became so uneasy that, on July 15, Jagow suddenly called on Herr Ballin to leave his bath resort and go to England to see what he could find out:

Lichnowsky called Grey's attention to the *Tageblatt* [article on an Anglo-Russian naval agreement] and Grey, after some hesitation, did not deny the matter altogether. Now there may in fact be more behind this than even Theodore Wolff himself may know, or than the good Lichnowsky may believe. There are actually negotiations taking place between London and Petersburg for a naval agreement in which—this in the greatest secrecy—Russia is striving for a wide-reaching military and naval co-operation. These negotiations have not yet come to a result in spite of Russian pressure, partly perhaps because Grey has become somewhat hesitant on account of the *Tageblatt's* indiscretion and on account of the open opposition in a part of the Liberal Party in England. But the Russians appear to be pressing hard, and who knows what they may offer as an equivalent in return? In the end Grey will certainly not oppose its conclusion, unless he meets with opposition within his own party or in the Cabinet. . . . The importance which the matter has

<sup>25</sup> *Nordd. Allg. Zeitung*, October 16, 1914. Cf. Jagow, *Ursachen*, pp. 85-91; also *New York Times*, November 8, 1914, p. 6.

for us, I need not go into further. We could scarcely consider any longer any farther drawing closer to England. It seems to me, therefore, very important to make once more an effort to wreck the affair. . . . My idea was whether you, through your numerous relations with influential Englishmen—have you not such relations with Lord Haldane?—could not sound a warning beyond the Channel.<sup>26</sup>

Similarly, Pourtalès, at the close of Poincaré's visit in Petrograd, tried to sound Sazonov on the subject. But Sazonov replied with indignation that "such a naval convention exists only in the imagination of the *Berliner Tageblatt* and in the moon".<sup>27</sup> Emperor William, however, was by no means convinced of Sazonov's sincerity, for he pencilled on Pourtalès's despatch, "according to the declaration of the Russian naval attaché, it is just coming into being! To-day, indeed! Or to-morrow!"

While the members of the Triple Entente were thus drawing more closely together, and were suspected by Germany of being more close than they really were, it was well known that Russia and France were both strengthening their military forces in the spring of 1914. Since 1912 Russia had been reorganizing and greatly increasing her army, and had borrowed millions from France with which to build strategic railways directed against the Central Powers.<sup>28</sup> France was changing from the two-year to the three-year term of military service. Germany's own great military increase of 1913 was thus more than offset by that of her neighbors. An article in the Petrograd *Bourse Gazette*, urging upon France the three-year term of service, calculated that

according to the Czar's ukase this year's contingent of recruits is *raised* from 450,000 to 580,000 men, and the *period of service increased by six months*. Thanks to this measure there stand every *winter* in Russia *four* contingents of recruits under arms, *i.e.*, an army of 2,300,000 men. . . . Germany has 880,000 [Kaiser's note: "Praise God"], Austria 500,000, and Italy 400,000. Quite naturally therefore Russia *expects* 770,000 from France, which is only *possible with the three-year term of service*. [Kaiser's note: "So there! at last the Russians have laid their cards on the table! Whoever in Germany still doubts that the Russo-Gauls are working at high pressure for an early war with us, and that we ought

<sup>26</sup> *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 56. Ballin accordingly dined with Haldane and Grey on July 23, and received the correct but elusive reply that England as a member of the Entente had to discuss questions which Russia and France brought to her, just as Germany doubtless had to discuss matters within the Triple Alliance, but that no naval convention with Russia existed nor did England intend to consent to one. *Ibid.*, no. 254.

<sup>27</sup> Pourtalès to Bethmann, July 24. *Ibid.*, no. 203.

<sup>28</sup> For details of Russia's secret military preparations, based on documents captured by Germany in Russia during the war, see Hoeniger, *op. cit.*, *passim*.



to take corresponding counter-measures, deserves to be sent straight to the madhouse at Dalldorf."]<sup>29</sup>

Such was the situation in the early summer of 1914. Germany and the Triple Alliance had lost prestige and were growing relatively weaker in comparison with the Triple Entente, and Austria faced the danger of dissolution unless she rehabilitated herself. This situation was not the result of any purposeful English policy of encirclement, nor of any aggressive intentions on the part of either England or France, whatever most Germans might think to the contrary. It was the result of the unfortunate way in which the Kaiser and his mediocre favorites had mismanaged Bismarck's inheritance during near a quarter of a century. Germany and Austria, however, felt that it was becoming increasingly imperative to do something to remedy the situation, and prevent themselves from losing ground still further. There were various ways by which they might hope to extricate themselves from this unenviable situation.

Bethmann-Hollweg's way, and that of Jagow, his associate at the Foreign Office, had been to make a friendly settlement with England of the irritating points at issue between the two countries in Africa and Mesopotamia. Similar settlements by England with France in 1904 and with Russia in 1907 had worked admirably. Though Germany, in view of the commercial and naval rivalry between Germans and Englishmen, might not be able to develop such a settlement into a close entente, such as England had established with France and Russia, nevertheless it would go far toward establishing better relations between the two great naval powers, and lessen Germany's sense of danger. Accordingly, the draft of a treaty in regard to the Portuguese colonies and the Bagdad Railway was drawn up. Grey was ready to meet Lichnowsky more than half-way. But the signature to the treaty was held up at the last minute, probably through the influence of the militarists at Berlin, and perhaps as a result of Berlin's suspicions in regard to the Anglo-Russian naval convention, mentioned above.<sup>30</sup>

Berchtold's way, on the other hand, was at first an alliance with Bulgaria. Soon after the assassination, however, he abandoned this in favor of the plan for crushing Serbia. His first idea was developed from a memorandum drawn up by one of his subordinates in

<sup>29</sup> *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 2. The article was reprinted on June 14 in the Berlin *Lokal Anzeiger*, and the italics indicate the passages which the Kaiser underlined. Cf. Pourtales's despatch, June 13, in *Deutschland Schuldig?*, pp. 186-188.

<sup>30</sup> Lichnowsky, pp. 279-295; Jagow, *Ursachen*, pp. 57-63; Bethmann-Hollweg, *Betrachtungen*, pp. 61-63; Haldane, pp. 93 ff., 143 ff.



the Austrian Foreign Office, Baron Flotow, to the following effect.<sup>31</sup> Since Austria could no longer count on King Carol's being able to fulfill Rumania's treaty obligations to Austria, Austria must compel Rumania to declare herself openly either for or against Austria. The best way to put pressure on Rumania for this purpose was for Austria to enter into an alliance with Bulgaria, and to make Sofia, instead of Bucharest, the pivot of Austrian Balkan policy. Bulgaria would guarantee to Rumania the existing boundary between Bulgaria and Rumania, so that King Carol would not be antagonized or alarmed. In fact he would then see the wisdom of holding to the Triple Alliance, and could even be induced to use his great influence with Serbia "to draw Serbia closer to the Dual Monarchy; in which case the Dual Monarchy, within the bounds of such a political situation, would meet Serbia most loyally half-way".<sup>32</sup> But if King Carol should not consent to make a satisfactory public declaration of his loyalty to the Triple Alliance, then Austria must revise her military arrangements and seek to bring Turkey into alliance with Bulgaria, so that both would support the Triple Alliance.

Flotow's memorandum, somewhat amplified by Matscheko and Pogatscher, was put before Berchtold in the middle of June. He decided that it should be worked out in greater detail and laid before the Berlin authorities as a memorandum for the guidance of the Central Powers in Balkan affairs. Accordingly, an elaborate draft to this effect was completed on June 24. It retained the idea of an Austrian *rapprochement* with Serbia, by means of Rumania's good graces.<sup>33</sup> But during the next few days Berchtold went over the draft and altered it with his own hand considerably. He omitted altogether the idea of a *rapprochement* with Serbia, as he doubted whether he could count upon Rumania. Instead he emphasized in more detail his idea of closer relations with Bulgaria and the formation of a new Balkan league under Austrian influence.

In this form the memorandum was complete and ready for transmission to Berlin, when on Sunday June 28 came the news that Franz Ferdinand had been murdered at Serajevo. The memorandum was not changed, except to add a few sentences to the effect that the frightful deed gave indubitable proof of the irreconcilability

<sup>31</sup> Gooss, pp. 3-6.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>33</sup> "Sollte Rumänien ferner mit Rücksicht auf seine freundschaftlichen Verhältnisse zu Serbien darauf Gewicht legen, so konnte die Monarchie in Bukarest auch die Versicherung abgeben, dass sie eine von Rumänien in Belgrad unternommene Aktion, welche auf eine Aenderung der Haltung Serbiens gegenüber der Monarchie abzielen würde, ihrerseits durch Entgegenkommen auf politischem und wirtschaftlichem Gebiete Serbien gegenüber zu fördern bereit sei." *Ibid.*, p. 18.

of the conflict between Austria and Serbia. Austria's good-will and concessions toward Serbia in the past were useless; henceforth Austria would have to reckon with the persistent, irreconcilable, and aggressive hostility of Serbia.<sup>34</sup> Berchtold also drew up a personal letter from Francis Joseph to Emperor William:

I am sending you a memorandum drawn up by my Minister of Foreign Affairs, prior to the frightful catastrophe at Serajevo, which after that tragic event now appears especially noteworthy. The attack on my poor nephew is a direct result of the agitation of the Russian and Serbian Pan-Slavs whose single aim is the weakening of the Triple Alliance and the disruption of my Empire. Serajevo is not the deed of a single individual, but the result of a well-arranged plot whose threads reach to Belgrade; and though presumably it will be impossible to prove the complicity of the Serbian government, there can be no doubt that its policy of uniting all the South Slavs under the Serbian flag promotes such crimes and that a continuation of this situation spells lasting danger for my dynasty and for my territories.

This danger is heightened by the fact that Rumania, in spite of its existing alliance with us, is in close friendship with Serbia and permits in its own territory just as hateful an agitation against us as does Serbia. . . . I fear that Rumania can only be saved for the Triple Alliance in case we do two things: prevent the establishment of a new Balkan League under Russian protection by joining Bulgaria to the Triple Alliance; and give it clearly to be understood in Bucharest that Serbia's friends cannot be our friends, and that Rumania can no longer count upon us as allies, unless she cuts loose from Serbia and suppresses with all her power her own agitation in Rumania which is directed against the existence of my Empire. The aim of my government must henceforth be to isolate and diminish Serbia. The first step in this direction must be to strengthen Bulgaria and secure an alliance with her. Bulgaria can then unite with Rumania and guarantee her territorial integrity; and Rumania will then perhaps retreat from the dangerous path into which she is led by her friendship with Serbia and her rapprochement with Russia. If this should succeed, a further attempt could be made to reconcile Greece with Bulgaria and Turkey, and so form a new Balkan League under the protection of the Triple Alliance; its purpose would be to set a dam to the Pan-Slav flood and assure peace to our lands. This will only be possible when Serbia, which at present forms the pivot of the Pan-Slav policy, *is ejected from the Balkans as a political factor*. After the last frightful events in Bosnia, you too will be convinced that *a friendly settlement of the opposition which divides Austria from Serbia is no longer to be thought of*, and that the peace policy of all European monarchs is threatened so long as the source of criminal agitation in Belgrade lives on unpunished.<sup>35</sup>

The royal letter and Berchtold's accompanying memorandum

<sup>34</sup> *Red Book*, I. 4-16; *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 14; Gooss. p. 24.

<sup>35</sup> Condensed from *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 13; *Red Book*, vol. I., no. 1. The italics are mine; they indicate words which Tisza objected to as being too strong and likely to make Berlin "shy off" from the action proposed. Cf. Gooss. p. 29. For other indications of Tisza's disapproval of strong action against Serbia, see *Red Book*, vol. I., nos. 2, 8, 9, 10, 12.

were despatched to Berlin by special messenger (Hoyos) for presentation to the Kaiser by the Austrian ambassador, Szögyény. As a luxuriant legend has grown up about a "crown council" at Potsdam, Szögyény shall tell in his own words exactly what happened:<sup>36</sup>

After I had brought it to the knowledge of Emperor William that I had a letter to deliver, I received Their Majesties' invitation to lunch today at noon in the New Palace. I gave His Majesty the letter and the accompanying memorandum. He read both documents in my presence with the greatest attention. At first he assured me that he had expected an earnest action on our part against Serbia, but that in view of the statements of Francis Joseph, he must keep in view a serious European complication and therefore wished to give no definite answer until he had consulted with the Chancellor.

After luncheon when I again emphasized the seriousness of the situation, His Majesty authorized me to report that in this case also we could reckon on Germany's full support. He thought action ought not to be delayed. Russia's attitude would doubtless be hostile, but he had been prepared for that for years; and if it should even come to a war between Austria and Russia, we could be convinced that Germany would stand by our side with her accustomed faithfulness as an ally. Russia, furthermore, he thought, was in no way ready for war and would certainly ponder very seriously before appealing to arms.

His Majesty said he understood how hard Francis Joseph, with his well-known love of peace, would find it to invade Serbia; but if we had really decided that military action against Serbia was necessary, he would be sorry if we left unused the present moment which was so favorable for us. Early tomorrow morning Emperor William intends to go to Kiel to start from there on his northern cruise. But first he will talk with the Chancellor, and for this purpose he has summoned him for this evening to the New Palace.

On the next day, after Bethmann, accompanied by Zimmermann, had discussed the matter with Emperor William, the chancellor officially defined Germany's attitude to Szögyény as follows: "Austria must judge what is to be done to clear up her relation to Serbia; whatever Austria's decision may turn out to be, Austria can count with certainty upon it, that Germany will stand behind her as an ally and friend."<sup>37</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Szögyény to Berchtold, July 5, 7:35 P.M. (condensed); *Red Book*, vol. I., no. 6.

<sup>37</sup> *Red Book*, vol. I., no. 7; Gooss, p. 34, note 1, tries to show that Szögyény, being old and not always able to grasp things correctly, over-emphasized the war pressure from Berlin. But his accuracy in these two despatches is fully confirmed by Bethmann's account to Tschirschky: "Concerning Serbia His Majesty naturally cannot take any stand in the questions opened between Austria and Serbia, for they are beyond his competence. But Francis Joseph may be sure that His Majesty in accord with his treaty obligations and old friendship will stand true by Austria's side under all circumstances." The last three words in the original draft made by Zimmermann were stricken out by the more cautious Bethmann and not sent to Tschirschky. *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 15.

Thus the Kaiser and Bethmann chose their policy. They gave Austria a free hand and made the mistake of putting the situation outside of their control into the hands of a man as reckless and as unscrupulous as Berchtold. They committed themselves to a leap in the dark. They soon found themselves involved, as we shall see, in actions which they did not approve, and by decisions which were taken against their advice; but they could not seriously object or threaten, because they had pledged their support to Austria in advance, and any hesitation on their part would only weaken the Triple Alliance at a critical moment when it most needed to be strong. Bethmann and the Kaiser on July 5 were not criminals plotting the World War; they were simpletons putting "a noose about their necks"<sup>38</sup> and handing the other end of the rope to a stupid and clumsy adventurer who now felt free to go as far as he liked.

But a difference in attitude between the Kaiser and his chancellor is already visible on July 5, and was to grow as the crisis increased, though Bethmann always ended by yielding his own views to his master's, out of a mistaken sense of loyalty and honor. The Kaiser with his shrewder insight and longer acquaintance with the Austrian situation, at once grasped the fact that action against Serbia was the main thing to be considered on July 5. He devoted his main attention to that and only touched briefly on Berchtold's plan for diplomatic action in the Balkans. Bethmann's reaction was just the reverse; he thought the diplomatic action at Bucharest and Sofia to be the main thing. To it he devoted four-fifths of his despatch of July 6 to Tschirschky. Only in a sentence at the end does he say anything concerning Serbia.<sup>39</sup>

The Kaiser was deeply shocked emotionally at the murder of the archduke, with whom he had been visiting at Konopischt only a few weeks before. In his annotations he never ceases to exclaim against the Serbians as "murderers". For fear of attacks against his own life, he abandoned his projected visit to Francis Joseph.<sup>40</sup> He felt that the monarchical principle was in danger, and that all monarchs, Nicholas II. most of all, ought to agree with him that the crime at Serajevo should meet with the severest condemnation.<sup>40a</sup> He wanted

<sup>38</sup> As the Kaiser himself frantically wrote on July 30 after learning of Grey's warning, Russian mobilization, and Berchtold's persistent rejection of all proposed peaceful solutions: In addition to encirclement by the Entente, "wird uns die Dummheit und Ungeschicklichkeit unseres Verbündeten zum Fallstrick gemacht". *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 401.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, no 15; cf. note 37 above.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 6.

<sup>40a</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 29, 120, 288, 290, 335.

retribution to come as quickly as possible while Europe was still under the vivid impression of the assassination and sympathized with Austria. He expected military action by Austria against Serbia, but on July 5 he did not think it probable that the Austro-Serbian dispute would lead to a European war; he could safely start next morning as had long been planned, and as Bethmann advised, on his northern cruise. This he would hardly have done, if he had expected that the early action, which he hoped Austria would take at once instead of delaying more than two weeks, would certainly involve serious European complications.<sup>41</sup> Nevertheless, he realized that while it was not probable that Austria would kindle a European war, it was possible. Therefore, early on July 6, before leaving Potsdam at quarter past nine for Kiel, he had brief separate interviews with subordinate representatives of the army and navy. He informed each of his interview with Szögyény. He told them privately to inform their chiefs, who were absent on furlough from Berlin, but added that they need not cut short their furloughs to return to Berlin, and that no orders for military preparations need be given, as he did not expect any serious warlike complications.<sup>42</sup>

Such were the events which grew into the legend of a "crown council" at Potsdam on July 5, so naïvely reported by Mr. Morgenthau from the lips of Wangenheim, the German ambassador at Constantinople:

The Kaiser, he told me, had summoned him to Berlin for an imperial conference. This meeting took place at Potsdam on July 5. The Kaiser presided and nearly all the important ambassadors attended; also Tirpitz, Moltke, the great bankers, railroad directors, and the captains of German industry, all of whom were as necessary to German war preparation as the army itself.<sup>43</sup> The Kaiser solemnly put the question to each man in turn, "Are you ready for war?" All replied, "Yes," except the financiers; they said they must have two weeks to sell their foreign securities and to make loans. At that time few people had looked upon the Serajevo tragedy as something that would inevitably lead to war. This conference, Wangenheim told me, took all precautions that no such suspicion should be aroused. It decided to give the bankers time to readjust their finances for the coming war, and then the

<sup>41</sup> The idea of withdrawal from the scene in order to lull Europe before a sudden attack, he characterized as "childish" in the case of the Austrian chief-of-staff. *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 29. The moment he heard the kind of ultimatum that Austria had presented to Serbia he started in a hurry to return to Berlin.

<sup>42</sup> Statements of Capelle, Bertrab, and Zenker, in October, 1919, in *Kautsky Docs.*, pp. xiii-xvi. It is quite possible, as Tirpitz states (*Erinnerungen*, p. 209), that the Kaiser had also consulted Falkenhayn, the minister of war, on July 5.

<sup>43</sup> According to other forms of the legend, an Austrian archduke and the Austrian chief-of-staff also attended.

several members went quietly back to their work, or started on their vacations. Wangenheim of course admitted that Germany precipitated the war. I think he was rather proud of the whole performance, proud that Germany had gone about the matter in so methodical and far-seeing a way, and especially proud that he himself had been invited to participate in so epoch-making a gathering.<sup>44</sup>

What are the facts as revealed by the documents? The reason for the two weeks' delay was not Germany's need to sell securities. It was due, as we shall see, to Tisza's opposition and then to Berchtold's wish to avoid sending the ultimatum until Poincaré had left Russia. Most of the persons alleged to have been present were elsewhere. As for ambassadors, Tschirschky was certainly at Vienna;<sup>45</sup> Lichnowsky was not present, or he would not have said in his memoir that he learned of the conference "subsequently".<sup>46</sup> There is not the slightest indication that Pourtalès and Schoen came from Petrograd and Paris. Moltke was away at Karlsbad, and Tirpitz at Tarasp.<sup>47</sup> Jagow, secretary of state, did not return from his honeymoon in Switzerland until July 6.<sup>48</sup> It is scarcely conceivable that an Austrian archduke and chief-of-staff could come from Vienna to Potsdam without the fact becoming known. Helfferich, director of the German Bank, Bethmann, and Jagow all vigorously deny that any such council took place.<sup>49</sup> We must therefore reject the whole story of a crown council on July 5 as a legend. It may have quite probably originated, as Helfferich suggests, with a waiter in a Berlin café who thought he overheard something of the kind from guests whom he was serving. Lichnowsky, Mühlton, and the Socialist deputies in the Reichstag, merely repeated hearsay. Wangenheim, if we are to believe that Mr. Morgenthau has correctly reported him,

<sup>44</sup> Morgenthau, p. 88 (summarized).

<sup>45</sup> Otherwise Bethmann would not have telegraphed to him as he did on July 6. *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 15.

<sup>46</sup> Lichnowsky, p. 323.

<sup>47</sup> In Switzerland. *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 74; Tirpitz, *Erinnerungen*, pp. 208 ff., 227.

<sup>48</sup> Jagow, *Ursachen*, p. 97. The first document from his hand is of July 8. *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 18, note 2.

<sup>49</sup> Bethmann, *Betrachtungen*, p. 136; Jagow, *Ursachen*, p. 102. Helfferich, *Vorgeschichte*, pp. 178-182, states that from his close touch with the Foreign Office he knew of Berchtold's memorandum and consequently began to take financial precautions. He also says he investigated the rumor that Austrian military officials saw the Kaiser on July 5, and found that the rumor was without foundation. Neither Sir Horace Rumbold, who was in charge of the British embassy in Berlin during the early days of July, nor any of his diplomatic colleagues, though they placed no confidence in German statements, had any inkling of a conference; Sir Horace was inclined to believe that the newspapers had found a mare's nest. Oman, p. 16 ff.

must have been so puffed up with pride at the German victories and at his own personal success in bringing Turkey into alliance with the Central Powers, that he delighted boastfully to magnify to a credulous auditor the share which he himself had in Germany's destiny.

However, though no such general conference took place on July 5 at which a European war was plotted, the date is momentous, for it does mark the moment at which Berlin gave Berchtold a free hand against Serbia. Until July 5 Berchtold had not dared to take energetic action against Serbia; partly because he knew that his colleague Tisza, the Hungarian premier, was strongly opposed to a sudden and unprovoked attack on Serbia;<sup>50</sup> and partly because he did not feel sure of German support. Germany had hitherto been taking a reserved and moderating attitude in regard to Austrian adventures in the Balkans.<sup>51</sup> Even before the Serajevo crime Berchtold had tried in vain "to open Tschirschky's eyes to the danger that Austria was in".<sup>52</sup> Two days after Serajevo, when even serious people in Vienna "were expressing frequently the hope that Austria had now the excuse for coming to a final reckoning with the Serbs", Tschirschky still

used every opportunity to warn calmly but very energetically and earnestly against any over hasty steps. He pointed out above all else that Austria must be clear as to exactly what she wanted, and remember that she did not stand alone in the world, that she must consider her allies and the European situation, and especially the attitude which Italy and Rumania would take in regard to Serbia.<sup>53</sup>

Up to July 5, Tschirschky accurately represented the moderating views of the Berlin Foreign Office, for on July 4 Szögyény tele-

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Tisza's letter to Francis Joseph, July 1. *Red Book*, vol. I., no. 1.

<sup>51</sup> Bethmann, *Betrachtungen*, p. 137 ff. Cf. also Jagow's illuminating private letter to Lichnowsky, July 18. *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 72.

<sup>52</sup> Hoyos at Vienna to Pallavicini at Constantinople, June 26: "Unterdessen wird ein langes Memorandum für Berlin ausgearbeitet, das demnächst abgehen soll, und der Minister (Graf Berchtold) tut sein Mögliches, Tschirschky die Augen zu öffnen. . . ."

<sup>53</sup> Tschirschky to Bethmann, June 30, *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 7. Highly significant of Emperor William's eagerness to have Austria act quickly and vigorously against Serbia are his marginal comments on this despatch. He underlined both the passages placed in quotations above; beside the first he wrote "Now or never", and beside the second, in condemnation of Tschirschky's restraining attitude of moderation: "Who authorized him to this? That is very stupid! It's none of his business, for it is purely Austria's affair to consider what to do in this matter, for it will be said afterwards, if things go wrong, that Germany was not willing!! Tschirschky will please drop this nonsense! Matters must be cleared up with the Serbs, and that soon. That's all self-evident and as clear as daylight."



graphed to Berchtold, "Zimmermann recommends the greatest precaution and advises that no humiliating demands be made upon Serbia."<sup>54</sup> But after July 5 his attitude changed.<sup>55</sup> Henceforth Tschirschky appears to have urged Berchtold to the speedy and energetic action against Serbia desired by Emperor William.<sup>56</sup> This was in accord with the tenor of telegrams from Szögyény, who reflected prevailing German militarist opinion as well as the views of the Berlin Foreign Office.<sup>57</sup>

Accordingly, on Tuesday morning, July 7, Berchtold, now confident of German support, called a ministerial council at Vienna at which the leading ministers and the chiefs of the army and navy were present. He raised

the question whether the time had not come to make Serbia harmless once for all through the use of force. Such a decisive blow could not be struck without diplomatic preparations. So he had got in touch with the German government. The discussions in Berlin had led to a very satisfactory result. Emperor William, as well as Bethmann-Hollweg, had given emphatic assurance of unconditional support in case of a war-like complication with Serbia. Italy and Rumania must still be reckoned with. And here he was in accord with the Berlin Cabinet that it was better to act first without consulting them, and then await any possible demands for compensation.<sup>58</sup> It was possible that a passage of arms with Serbia might result in a war with Russia. But Russia was at present following a policy that, looking to the future, was aiming at a combination of the Balkan states, including Rumania, for the purpose of using them against the Monarchy when the time seemed opportune. He was of the opinion that Austria must take into account the fact that her situation in the face of such a policy was bound to become increasingly worse, especially as passive toleration would be interpreted by her South Slavs and Rumanians as a sign of weakness, and would lend force to the drawing power of the two border states.

<sup>54</sup> *Red Book*, vol. I., no. 5.

<sup>55</sup> He may have received, as Lichnowsky asserts, a reprimand from the Kaiser for his moderating attitude. No such reprimand, however, appears in any of the documents, but this may be easily explained by the fact that the Kautsky documents only pretend to reproduce the messages which passed through the Berlin Foreign Office, together with a few others, such as the letters between the crowned heads, and Tschirschky may have received his reprimand direct from the Kaiser. There are indications that Tschirschky was in direct communication with the Kaiser during July, 1914. He was one of the Kaiser's personal favorites and had often accompanied him on the northern cruises.

<sup>56</sup> *Red Book*, vol. I., nos. 10, 44; *Kautsky Docs.*, nos. 35, 40, 41, 49, 94.

<sup>57</sup> *Red Book*, vol. I., nos. 6, 7, 13, 15, 23, 41.

<sup>58</sup> If this was really Bethmann's view at first (*cf.* *Red Book*, vol. I., no. 7), the chancellor soon changed his mind. For on July 15 (*Kautsky Docs.*, no. 46) Jagow tried to persuade Berchtold to come to a timely understanding beforehand with Italy by offering such "a fat morsel" as the Trentino. This was the first of a whole series of telegrams which advised Vienna to satisfy Italy and safeguard the integrity of the Triple Alliance—advice which Berchtold obstinately disregarded until it was too late.



All agreed with Berchtold except Tisza. He was unwilling to countenance the surprise attack on Serbia without preliminary diplomatic action, which Berchtold contemplated and which Hoyos had unfortunately talked of at Berlin; it would make a bad impression on European public opinion, and involve the probable hostility of all the Balkan states except Bulgaria, which was so weak that it could afford little assistance. He favored formulating demands on Serbia and only presenting an ultimatum in case Serbia did not yield to them. These demands must be hard, but not impossible of fulfillment. If Serbia accepted them, it would be a striking diplomatic success and increase Austrian prestige in the Balkans. If the demands were refused, he also would favor military action, but was emphatic that such action should aim at the diminution, but not at the complete destruction, of Serbia, because on the one hand, Russia would never allow the latter without a life-and-death struggle, and on the other, because he, as premier of Hungary, would never be able to agree to the annexation of a part of Serbia by the Dual Monarchy. He did not believe it was necessary to make war at once, but rather hoped that the diplomatic situation in the Balkans would improve. After a long discussion in which the other ministers expressed their views at length, and possible military measures had been discussed, Tisza's opinion so far prevailed that it was agreed that mobilization should not take place until concrete demands had been presented to Serbia and rejected.

All except Tisza, however, also agreed that a purely diplomatic victory, even if it ended with a striking humiliation of Serbia, would be worthless, and that consequently such far-reaching demands must be presented to Serbia as to make their rejection foreseen, so that the way to a radical solution through a military attack would be prepared.<sup>59</sup>

As result of this council, Berchtold decided to give up for the present his first idea of negotiations for alliance with Bulgaria, and to concentrate his attention on direct action against Serbia.<sup>60</sup> The next day he tried to influence Tisza to adopt the views of the other ministers, by writing him that Tschirschky "has just had a telegram from Berlin in which his imperial master had directed him to declare here most emphatically that Berlin expects Austria to act against Serbia, and that it would not be understood in Germany if we let

<sup>59</sup> Minutes of the ministerial council, July 7, in *Red Book*, vol. I., no. 8; also translated in *N. Y. Times Current History*, December, 1919, pp. 455-460; cf. also Tschirschky's report in *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 19.

<sup>60</sup> *Kautsky Docs.*, nos. 19, 21, 22.

this given opportunity go by without striking a blow".<sup>61</sup> But Tisza had already set forth his more moderate views more fully in a memoir to Francis Joseph,<sup>62</sup> in which he suggested a number of demands which might properly be made upon Serbia, insisting at the same time that Austria should disavow any intentions to annex territory, and finally that if Serbia yielded to the demands, Austria must accept this solution *bona fide*. On Thursday, July 9, Berchtold had an audience with Francis Joseph at Ischl and reported the views of the majority of the council and of Tisza.<sup>63</sup>

During the first two weeks after the murder of Franz Ferdinand, all action proposed against Serbia, both in Berlin and in Vienna, was based on the supposition expressed in Francis Joseph's letter to the Kaiser "that the crime was the result of a well-organized plot the threads of which reach to Belgrade". To get the proof of this, if possible, Wiesner had been sent by Berchtold to Serajevo to investigate on the spot. He reported on July 13: "There is nothing to prove or even to cause suspicion of Serbian government's cognizance of steps leading to crime or of its preparing it or of its supplying the weapons. On the contrary, there are indications that this is to be regarded as out of the question."<sup>64</sup> Thus, on July 13, Berchtold knew there were no grounds for charging the Serbian government with complicity, and that the supposition on which he had been proceeding was false. Therefore, he deliberately suppressed all knowledge of the Wiesner report, both from Tisza and from his own emperor, and from the German government. He proceeded instead to the formulation of demands which were to be so framed that Serbia could not possibly accept them. This also explains why Austria did not give the powers any opportunity to examine the *dossier* of charges cobbled together against Serbia in Vienna, until after Europe had been faced with the *fait accompli* of war between Austria and Serbia. It was this refusal to present the evidence against Serbia seasonably which, with justice, greatly embittered and roused the Russian foreign minister Sazonov.<sup>65</sup> It explains why Berchtold, as we

<sup>61</sup> July 8, *Red Book*, vol. I., no. 10. The Kautsky documents do not contain any such telegram. Perhaps it was another of the telegrams sent direct from the Kaiser to Tschirschky and not from the Berlin Foreign Office. The objection might be raised that Berchtold speaks of a telegram "from Berlin", whereas the Kaiser was not at Berlin, but on his northern trip. However, "from Berlin" here may mean no more than "from the German authorities", or "via Berlin".

<sup>62</sup> *Red Book*, vol. I., no. 12.

<sup>63</sup> *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 29.

<sup>64</sup> *Red Book*, vol. I., no. 17; Goričar, p. 296.

<sup>65</sup> *Red Book*, vol. I., nos. 16-19; vol. III., no. 16; *Kautsky Docs.*, nos. 120,

shall see, was determined to prevent any interference or investigation by the powers looking toward a peaceful settlement of the dispute. He knew that his charges would not bear the light. It explains why all Sir Edward Grey's proposals were deceitfully blocked at Vienna until "overtaken by events" and so rendered useless.

Concealing the Wiesner report, Berchtold called a second ministerial council the next day, July 14, at which an agreement was reached on the main points to be demanded. Tisza was persuaded to give up his opposition to the short time-limit of forty-eight hours, on condition that before the ultimatum was presented, a full ministerial council should adopt the formal resolution that "Austria, aside from slight regulations of boundary, seeks no acquisition of territory as a result of the war with Serbia". It was also decided that the ultimatum should not be presented until it was certain that Poincaré had left Russia; for otherwise it was feared that it might be regarded in Petrograd as an affront. Then Russia, under the influence of the "champagne mood" of the Franco-Russian toasts and the chauvinism of Poincaré, Izvolski, and the Grand-duke Nicholas, would be more likely to intervene with military action.<sup>66</sup> After the date had been changed several times, it was finally decided that if the note were not presented until after five P.M. Thursday, July 23, the news could not reach Petrograd until after Poincaré was safely out of touch with the Russian authorities.<sup>67</sup> After the council Berchtold informed Tschirschky that the exact text of the ultimatum had not been fixed. But he promised that as soon as the precise wording had been finally adopted at a third ministerial council on Sunday, July 19, he (Tschirschky) would be shown a copy in great confidence, even before it had been submitted to Francis Joseph for approval.<sup>68</sup> Berchtold, however, did not keep this promise. The precise terms of the note were fixed as planned on July 19,<sup>69</sup> and its text despatched on the 20th by courier to the Austrian ambassador at Belgrade for presentation to the Serbian government on Thursday, the 23d.<sup>70</sup> On the 21st, Berchtold went to Ischl, for an audience with Francis Joseph. He telegraphed to his subordinate in

<sup>66</sup> Minutes of the ministerial council, July 14. *Red Book*, vol. I., no. 19; *Kautsky Docs.*, nos. 49, 50.

<sup>67</sup> For the high importance of waiting until Russia had recovered from the "champagne mood" and Poincaré's influence, see *Red Book*, vol. I., nos. 19, 21; *Kautsky Docs.*, nos. 50, 65, 69, 80, 93, 96, 108, 112, 127.

<sup>68</sup> *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 50.

<sup>69</sup> *Red Book*, vol. I., no. 26; Gooss, p. 101.

<sup>70</sup> *Red Book*, vol. I., no. 27. It was sent also under the seal of secrecy to Szögyény on the 20th, as well as to the Austrian ambassadors in Rome, Paris, Petrograd, London, and Constantinople. *Ibid.*, no. 29.

Vienna, Macchio, that His Majesty had approved the note without change; "inform Tschirschky that he cannot be given the note until tomorrow, because there are some corrections to be made in it".<sup>71</sup> Berchtold probably feared that even the Berlin Foreign Office would disapprove the extreme and intransigent tone of the note, and might at the last moment stretch out a restraining hand. Therefore Berlin must not know the text until it was too late to do anything.

But meanwhile Berlin had been sending pressing telegrams to know the text of the note as soon as possible, "as it was of vital interest to the German government to know where the Austrian path was leading to".<sup>72</sup> Under this pressure from Berlin, and in ignorance of Berchtold's order to Macchio, Count Forgách, on the evening of July 21, handed the text of the note in strictest confidence to Tschirschky for transmission to Berlin. Tschirschky sent it by mail instead of by telegraph, either because it was so long and the wires were overcrowded, or because he feared that its later publication might endanger the secrecy of the German cipher. It did not reach Berlin until the evening of July 22. It was then practically too late for Bethmann and Jagow to modify it.<sup>73</sup> That, however, they actually would have modified it, if they had had the opportunity, is not to be assumed. They were still adhering to the policy adopted on July 5, that the Serbian question was "beyond the competence of Germany" and was to be "localized". Thus it was essentially true, as they soon asserted to the world, that they did not know of the text of the note before it was sent to Serbia, and they had not shared in drawing it up.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>71</sup> *Red Book*, vol. I., no. 46.

<sup>72</sup> Private letter of Szögyény to Berchtold, July 21, Gooss, p. 110, note 2. Cf. his telegram on same day: "Unconditionally necessary to inform German government before other Powers at first in a strictly confidential manner." *Red Book*, vol. I., no. 39. Cf. also telegrams of Jagow to Tschirschky urgently requesting (July 19) "essential points of the note", and again (July 21) "to be precisely informed beforehand not only as to the contents of the note, but also as to the day and hour of its publication". *Kautsky Docs.*, nos. 77, 83.

<sup>73</sup> *Kautsky Docs.*, nos. 103, 106. Bethmann, *Betrachtungen*, p. 138 ff., says the text was shown to Jagow late in the evening of July 22; Jagow had just received a copy of it from Szögyény, to whom it had been sent on July 20. Jagow declared it was "too sharp" and reproached the Austrian ambassador for thus communicating it only at the eleventh hour. Jagow, *Ursachen*, p. 109 ff., confirms this. As a commentary on Jagow's veracity, however, it may be noted that on the day after he had read the note and pronounced it too sharp, he telegraphed both to Lichnowsky and to the German ambassador in Sweden, "Austria's demands at Belgrade are unknown to us". *Kautsky Docs.*, nos. 123, 126.

<sup>74</sup> Tschirschky, however, of course had been kept informed in a general way of its progress through the ministerial councils of July 7, 14, and 19. *Kautsky Docs.*, nos. 19, 29, 65, 87, 88, 103, 106.

Berchtold's further acts rendering war inevitable may be briefly noted. On July 25, upon the advice of the Austrian chief-of-staff and without waiting to examine the nature of the Serbian reply, Austria mobilized her army against Serbia, to be ready to cross the frontier on the 28th.<sup>75</sup> On July 27, Berchtold decided to declare war very soon, "primarily in order to cut the ground from every attempt at intervention".<sup>76</sup>

Meanwhile Grey's first proposal for mediation at Petrograd and Vienna by the four less directly interested powers (Germany, Italy, France, and England) was being rejected by Germany on the alleged ground that she could not bring her ally before a court of arbitration.<sup>77</sup> But when Sir Edward Grey made a second proposal on July 27 that Germany should urge Vienna to refrain from military action and regard the Serbian answer as sufficient or as a basis for further negotiation, Bethmann at last wavered in his optimism about "localization" and tried to recover control over the situation which he had abandoned on July 5.<sup>78</sup> He notified Berchtold that after rejecting Grey's first proposal, he could not reject the second;

If we should refuse all mediatory action we should be held responsible by the world as the instigators of the war. This would make our own position at home in Germany impossible, where we must appear to be forced into war. Our situation is all the more difficult as Serbia has apparently made very wide concessions. We cannot therefore reject the role of mediator . . . request Berchtold's opinion on the English proposal and also on Sazonov's wish for direct negotiations with Vienna.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Gooss, p. 172.

<sup>76</sup> Tschirschky to Berlin, July 27, 3:30 P.M. *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 257.

<sup>77</sup> *Dipl. Corresp.*, pp. 17, 18, 38, 40.

<sup>78</sup> It is noteworthy that Berchtold delayed sending to Berlin the text of Serbia's reply for several days. He evidently feared that its conciliatory and yielding tone might lead Germany, as it did all the other powers of Europe, to feel that Austria's demands were sufficiently satisfied and that grounds for an attack on Serbia were now no longer justifiable. It was not until Berlin requested urgently that the Serbian reply be forwarded, that it was sent and then only in a form in which it was interlarded with arguments drawn up in Vienna. Before it had reached Berlin, the Serbian ambassador had already brought it to the Foreign Office, and the Kaiser noted upon it: "A brilliant result for a time-limit of only 48 hours. That is more than one might have expected! A great moral victory for Vienna; but with it every ground for war disappears, and Giesl ought to have remained quiet in Belgrade. In such circumstances I should never have ordered mobilization!" *Kautsky Docs.*, nos. 246, 271, 280; cf. also no. 293; *Dipl. Corresp.*, p. 41.

<sup>79</sup> Bethmann to Tschirschky, July 27, 11:50 P.M. *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 279; Gooss, p. 177 ff. This was followed by another telegram on the 28th, warning Berchtold almost in threatening tone to come to some understanding with Russia through the direct negotiations which Germany had proposed in Petrograd. *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 323.

Bethmann also had the Kaiser send his first appeal to the tsar: "I am exerting my utmost influence to induce the Austrians to deal straightly to arrive to [*sic*] a satisfactory understanding with you. I confidently hope you will help me in my efforts to smoothe over difficulties that may still arise. Your very sincere and devoted friend and cousin, Willy."<sup>80</sup> Whether Bethmann's chief anxiety at this moment was really to avoid war, or to make sure that when war came, the blame for it should not seem to rest on Germany and Austria but on Russia, cannot here be discussed. At any rate Berchtold destroyed the possibility of reaching a peaceful solution. Instead of replying to Bethmann, he declared war on Serbia at noon on the 28th. For more than two whole days Bethmann could get no answer from him, in spite of several urgent telegrams. Bethmann was really "pressing the button" hard at Vienna, as he declared to Sir Edward Grey, but Berchtold was deaf.<sup>81</sup> It was not until the morning of July 30 that he was finally informed by Berchtold that "to his sorrow" he could not act on Grey's proposal, because, war having begun with Serbia, the proposal was "outstripped by events".<sup>82</sup> Meanwhile, owing to the suspicions caused by the rejection of all the English and Russian proposals for a peaceful settlement and owing to the increasing rumors in every country of military preparations, the control was passing at Berlin and Petrograd from the hands of the diplomats to those of the military authorities. Steps, which cannot here be described, were being taken, as a result of Berchtold's uncompromising attitude, which rendered a European war virtually inevitable.

Thus, though we may reject many of the views maintained by Gooss, we may conclude that his interpretation of the responsibility for the war up to July 29 is much nearer the truth than Kautsky's or than that set forth at Versailles by the Allied Commission of which Mr. Lansing was a member. On July 5 Bethmann agreed with the Kaiser that Austria should be given a free hand for a speedy but undetermined action against Serbia. Neither thought it probable that

<sup>80</sup> July 28, 10:45 P.M. *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 325.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 323, 361, 377, 380, 384, 385, 395; *Dipl. Corresp.*, pp. 56-65. Cf. for instance, Bethmann to Tschirschky, July 29, 8 P.M.: After complaining sharply of Austria's uncompromising and contradictory declarations in Petrograd, London, and Rome, Bethmann says he is forced to conclude that Austria has new intentions of partitioning Serbia contrary to her former assurances that she did not intend to seize Serbian territory; and that Austria is concealing her intentions from Germany for fear Germany would not support them. *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 361.

<sup>82</sup> *Kautsky Docs.*, nos. 388, 400, 432.

the action would involve a European war. By adopting the policy that the Serbian question was a purely Austrian affair, "beyond the competence" of Germany, and by promising loyal support as an ally, they believed with a wholly unwarranted optimism that the Austro-Serbian conflict could be "localized". Berchtold, being given a free hand and sure of the support of his ally, then went recklessly ahead, disregarding German advice and failing to keep the German Foreign Office precisely informed "where the Austrian path was leading to". He thereby created a situation in which the Central Powers became so involved and in which so many steps toward mobilization were taken, that "localization" was no longer possible. When at last Bethmann made an effort to restrain Austria it was too late. Though Tschirschky, holding militarist views himself and representing the attitude of the Kaiser rather than of Bethmann and the German Foreign Office, cast his influence for energetic action against Serbia, he did not push on a hesitating Berchtold. Berchtold needed no pushing. He was eager to be free from German restraint and sure of German support; and it was precisely these things which he was so foolishly promised on July 5.<sup>83</sup>

SIDNEY BRADSHAW FAY.

<sup>83</sup> After correcting the proof of the foregoing article I received a copy of the proceedings of the Reichstag Investigating Committee of last March (*Beilagen zu den Stenographischen Berichten über die Oeffentlichen Verhandlungen des Untersuchungsausschusses: Zur Vorgeschichte des Weltkrieges*, Nr. 1). These depositions of some forty personages confirm the conclusions which I had already reached. They tend to exonerate Tschirschky more than I have done. They also show that Falkenhayn, Prussian minister of war, with a couple of subordinates, Plessen and Lyncker, conferred for a few minutes with the Kaiser at Potsdam on the afternoon of July 5, but with no one else, and no military measures were then taken indicative of any expectation that Germany would be involved in war.



## GERMAN HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS, 1914-1920<sup>1</sup>

It is not surprising that in Germany, as in most of the belligerent countries, historical productivity has been diminished by the war. Some historians, indeed, have continued their work, but many, no longer having the freedom of mind necessary for dealing with subjects remote from the preoccupations of the present, have turned their attention to subjects nearer at hand, or more related to the events of the time. As a result, fields of history which formerly were favorites with German writers—antiquity, for example, the Middle Ages, or the Renaissance—have been neglected in favor of more recent periods or more immediate problems. Contemporary history has thus attracted special attention, with all its related questions—the colonial question, that of imperialism, that of *Mitteleuropa*. Naturally, these works have not always been free from *Tendenz*. Professor Moriz Ritter explains it thus, in his recent book, *Die Entwicklung der Geschichtswissenschaft*:

In the fateful hour upon which our people have entered, all their forces, not only the economic but even more those which are directed toward the ideal aims of humanity, should be joined if we wish to rise again to a higher existence. And for the intellectual work which goes on in the field of science, historical studies must always serve as guide.

Ever since the second half of the nineteenth century the advancement of national education has always been the more or less avowed goal of German historians. But during the war, more than ever, historical forces have been mobilized toward political or national ends. I shall not review all the books produced, many of which lack scientific character, but shall confine myself to the most important and significant. Neither have I cared to discuss them in the order of their publication; I have thought it more convenient to group them according to periods and subjects treated.

<sup>1</sup> [During the years since the outbreak of war in 1914 our reviewing of important German historical works has inevitably fallen into arrears, and even now not all such books are procurable for the purpose. Seeking the best means of placing our readers more *au courant* of this literature, we have been so fortunate as to obtain the following survey (in which, however, books on the origin and history of the Great War are not included) from the competent hands of Professor Antoine Guillaud, professor of history in the École Polytechnique Fédérale at Zurich. His book entitled, in its English translation, *Modern Germany and her Historians*, has been made known to the readers of this journal by review in a previous volume, XXII. 151-153. Ed.]



In the field of ancient history, the first which presents itself is the *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*<sup>2</sup> by Professor Rudolf Kittel. This is not precisely a recent work. Its first edition, which appeared from 1888 to 1892, bore the title *Geschichte der Hebräer*, but the author has since then so thoroughly revised his work, utilizing new discoveries, that one may say he has almost written a new book. Hardly a page, he says, has remained unchanged.

Professor Kittel's book is a political history, but it is also a history of civilization. "If one excludes the cultural life of Israel", he says, "its history reduces itself to a mere history of wars". Naturally he gives chief prominence to that which constitutes the greatness of Israel for the world—religion. "In this respect", he says, "humahity owes more to Judaea than to Greece and to Rome". He studies also what Israel owes to her Asiatic neighbors and even to the Occident, apprehending Jewish history from the point of view of universal history. "Whoever wishes", he says, "to have an idea of the development, internal and external, of the Hebrew people, must place their history in the stream of world-history". The work of Professor Kittel is not only a book of solid erudition; it is also a book of general ideas and suggestive insight.

In the same field, Professor Bertholet has published a *Kulturgeschichte Israels*.<sup>3</sup> Leaving political history at one side, he has applied himself solely to giving a picture of Judaic civilization. He exhibits by concrete facts the family life of the Hebrews, the furnishing of their houses, the occupations they followed, their social, political, and intellectual life, their art, and their literature. This picture of Hebrew life, which rests on a profound knowledge of the sacred books, of archaeological discoveries, and of recent excavations, is extraordinarily vivid. Dr. Bertholet's book is at once profitable and engaging.

A history of antiquity conceived in an entirely different spirit forms the first part of a *Weltgeschichte*<sup>4</sup> undertaken by Professor Ludo Moritz Hartmann with several collaborators. These his-

<sup>2</sup> Rudolf Kittel, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel: Palästina in der Urzeit, das Werden des Volkes, Quellenkunde und Geschichte der Zeit bis zum Tode Josuas; Das Volk in Kanaan, Quellenkunde und Geschichte der Zeit bis zum Babylonischen Exil*, third ed., much revised and enlarged (Gotha, Perthes, 1917).

<sup>3</sup> Alfred Bertholet, *Kulturgeschichte Israels* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1920).

<sup>4</sup> *Weltgeschichte: Einleitung und Geschichte des Alten Orients*, von E. Hanslik, E. Kohn, und E. G. Klauber; *Griechische Geschichte*, von Ettore Ciccotti; *Römische Geschichte*, von L. M. Hartmann und J. Kromayer (Gotha, Perthes, 1919).

torians are less concerned with the exposition of facts than with the determination of great historic currents; they take more account of social and economic than of political life. Their work is a sort of panoramic view of the history of humanity taken at its decisive moments. Such works tend necessarily to superficiality, if they are not edited by specialists thoroughly masters of their subjects. Dr. Hartmann has chosen his collaborators well: for prehistoric times and the history of the ancient Orient, he has called upon scholars of the first order, Professors Hanslik, Kohn, and Klauber. For Greek history he could not find a historian of more competent knowledge than Professor Ciccotti. He himself has treated Roman history from the earliest times to the union of the city with Italy. Next Professor Kromayer has studied the history of the end of the Republic, and the Empire to Diocletian. Hartmann takes up the end of the Empire, Roman decadence to the beginning of the Middle Ages, the barbarian invasions, the foundation of the Byzantine Empire and the Mussulman conquest.

With *Caesars Monarchie und das Prinzipat des Pompejus*,<sup>5</sup> Professor Eduard Meyer leads us again into purely political history. It is a book of most excellent workmanship and without doubt the most important German historical work published during the war. Its origin was not entirely unaffected by the preoccupations of the moment. Professor Meyer tells us that he found it impossible at the end of 1914 to continue his *Geschichte des Alterthums*, of which he was beginning the sixth volume. He felt an inexorable necessity of occupying himself with an historical question more related, he says, "to the furious (*tobend*) struggle for its existence which the German nation was sustaining". He turned his attention to the troubled period of Roman history which led to the fall of the Republic and the establishment of the Empire. Here he encountered a redoubtable rival, Mommsen; but this was far from checking him. Mommsen's partiality is well known. He transfers to Rome the hatreds of a liberal of 1848, against the Roman aristocrats whom he confounds with the Junkers and against the plebeians whom he identifies with the radical democrats of Germany. Professor Meyer brings no partizanship into the elucidation of this great political problem. Without anger and without hate, he has but one aim—to see clearly and speak the truth. His picture, if it has not the brilliance of Mommsen's, is more exact; his portraits, shaded with infinite precision, are speaking likenesses. Far from seeing in Caesar

<sup>5</sup> Eduard Meyer, *Caesars Monarchie und das Prinzipat des Pompejus: Innere Geschichte Roms von 66 bis 44 v. Chr.* (Stuttgart, Cotta, 1918).

a sort of god, a "savior of society", he shows everywhere the man of ambition, without scruple, who, more adroit than his rival Pompey, more intelligent and stronger, finally triumphs over him. Dr. Meyer, furthermore, does not, like Mommsen, see in the struggle of the two men merely a struggle between two candidates, but a contest of ideas. Pompey himself is nearer the truth, that is to say, more in accordance with the Roman tradition, and it is his system which triumphs when, after the assassination of Caesar, Augustus comes into power. "The principate of Augustus", he says, "is only the realization of the policy of Pompey."

Such is the fundamental idea of Professor Meyer's narrative. It must be read to appreciate with what learning, what a wealth of cogent arguments, the idea is sustained. I know no picture of Roman life during this capital crisis which equals that which he has drawn. Rehabilitating Cicero, whom Mommsen makes a prating coward, he shows him as, in spite of his failings, the most veracious witness of his time. The work is written with warmth; behind the scholar one discerns an artist and a writer.

Continuing the work which he undertook in the collection *Geschichte der Europäischen Staaten*, Professor Ludo M. Hartmann brings out a new volume of his *Geschichte Italiens im Mittelalter*,<sup>6</sup> treating of the rule of the Ottos. The work is remarkable for its rich documentation, the skillful grouping of the material, and the clear and exact narrative. Following his natural tendency, Dr. Hartmann gives more importance to economic and social than to political life. He takes up, nevertheless, the political problem which has occupied the majority of the German historians who have touched upon this history, the question, that is, whether domination in Italy was profitable to the Empire. Nationalist historians, Sybel, von Below,<sup>7</sup> answer the question in the negative. Hartmann, judging from the higher standpoint of civilization, finds that this penetration of the rude, barbarous German mind by the fine and highly cultured Italian spirit could not fail to have favorable effects.

The history of Serbia, which has been written in German several times (Engel in 1807 and Ranke in 1829), is the subject of a new work appearing in the same collection.<sup>8</sup> Its author, Professor Constantine Jireček, published in 1911 the first volume, which ends at

<sup>6</sup> L. M. Hartmann, *Geschichte Italiens im Mittelalter*, Band IV., 1 Hälfte, *Die Ottonische Herrschaft* (Gotha, Perthes, 1915).

<sup>7</sup> G. von Below has touched upon the question in *Der Deutsche Staat des Mittelalters* (1914), reviewed in *American Historical Review*, XX, 137.

<sup>8</sup> C. Jireček, *Geschichte der Serben* (Gotha, Perthes, 2 vols., 1911, 1918).

1371, the year in which the Serbs fought at the Maritza their first battle against the Turks. The second volume, which appeared in 1918, treats of the history of Serbia from 1371 to 1537. In this work we at last possess a history of Serbia written from the sources and according to good methods of historical criticism. The author was a Slavist of note who resided for a long time in Balkan countries and knew thoroughly the peoples who inhabit them. Drawing inspiration from Ranke, he has wished simply "to recount things as they really were". His sober narrative is at once a political history of the Serbs and a history of their civilization, for a large place is given to the social, economic, religious, intellectual, literary, and artistic life of the people. This history leaves but one regret—that Professor Jireček died before finishing it. We must hope that some student of this learned professor of the University of Vienna will continue the work of his teacher, inspired by the same spirit.

In the same collection Dr. E. Zivier, resuming after a rather long interruption the *History of Poland* begun by Richard Roepell in 1840 and continued since 1888 by Jacob Caro, gives us a first volume of a *Neuere Geschichte Polens*,<sup>9</sup> relating the history of Poland under the last two Jagiellos. After having experienced under the first Jagiello a period of prosperity before unknown, Poland, which had become one of the great states of Europe, loses her power little by little, from the beginning of the sixteenth century. Her frontiers threatened, a prey to internal dissensions and religious quarrels, she loses the ascendancy which she had acquired. Such is the subject-matter of Dr. Zivier's narrative, which would have been improved by some condensation. Eight hundred pages devoted to the history of sixty-six years is a little excessive. The author does not sufficiently distinguish between essential facts and lesser ones. He seems to have been overwhelmed by the documents he has discovered in the archives. He has made the mistake of giving all; a selection would have been better. His work is none the less important, for it makes known a period of Polish history little explored by scholars. The best part is that which treats of the Reformation in Poland.

The field of Professor Friedrich von Bezold, of the University of Bonn, is, as is well known, the period of the Renaissance and the Reformation. Humanist as well as historian, interested in literature and art as well as in history, he has written several essays, first published in the reviews, especially the *Historische Zeitschrift*, and these he has now brought together in a volume under the title *Aus Mittel-*

<sup>9</sup> E. Zivier, *Neuere Geschichte Polens*, vol. I., *Die Zwei Letzten Jagellonen*, 1506–1572 (Gotha, Perthes, 1915).

*alter und Renaissance*.<sup>10</sup> The most diverse subjects are here treated, for example: the Poor and German Literature at the end of the Middle Ages; the Humanist Conrad Celtes; the Astrological Construction of History in the Middle Ages; On the Beginnings of Autobiography; Bodin considered as Occultist and his *Démonomanie*; and many others. By his naturalness, his good-nature, and his penetration, Professor von Bezold often recalls Jacob Burckhardt, whose taste for the history of civilization he shares.

The four-hundredth anniversary of the Reformation has given rise in Germany and in German Switzerland to a great number of works, some of which have value. I will only mention the volume of Professor G. von Below, *Die Ursachen der Reformation* (1917), since it has already been reviewed in this journal.<sup>11</sup> Important also is the work of Gustav Wolf, *Quellenkunde der Deutschen Reformationsgeschichte*,<sup>12</sup> the first extensive book on the sources for the history of the German Reformation. He has studied the movement itself, almost exclusively, leaving aside or treating summarily the related questions such as that of the sects of Anabaptists, etc. He has neglected also the polemics of Luther's Catholic adversaries, or at least only mentions them when the Reformation is directly concerned. In his first volume, devoted to the *Vorreformation* and to the general history of the reform, he discusses the councils, mysticism, Wycliffe, Huss, humanism, and the acts and documents relative to the German Reformation. In his second volume he studies Protestant religious life, and devotes a chapter to each of the great reformers, Luther, Melancthon, Zwingli, and Calvin. Some errors and omissions are discoverable, inevitably in a work of such dimensions. On the other hand, praise is due to the author's patience and self-denial. He has rendered an immense service to all who henceforth shall occupy themselves with the history of the Reformation in general.

The work of Reimann, *Deutsche Geschichte der Reformation, 1500 bis 1648*,<sup>13</sup> is a good popular book which has the merit of grouping and co-ordinating the new researches and placing the results within the grasp of the general public.

Of an entirely different value is the great work of Professor

<sup>10</sup> F. von Bezold, *Aus Mittelalter und Renaissance: Kulturgeschichtliche Studien* (Munich and Berlin, R. Oldenbourg, 1918).

<sup>11</sup> *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXIV. 468.

<sup>12</sup> Band I., *Vorreformation und Allgemeine Reformationsgeschichte*; Band II., Teil 1, *Kirchliche Reformationsgeschichte* (Gotha, Perthes, 1915, 1916).

<sup>13</sup> Berlin, G. Reimer, 1917.

Otto Scheel, *Martin Luther*.<sup>14</sup> It is not a complete history of the reformer; up to the present time, at least, the learned professor of the University of Tübingen has recounted the life of Luther only to his leaving the monastery and breaking with the Church. How many obscurities this period, disfigured by legend, still presents, is well known. Dr. Scheel does not claim to have solved all the problems, but at least he disposes of many calumnies diffused by Catholic historians. His work, at once critical and narrative, exhibits for the first time in a scientific manner the history of Luther's childhood and youth, of his studies and his novitiate, of his sojourn in the monastery and his journey to Rome. Utilizing the researches of the Catholic historians—Janssen, Denifle, Grisar—too much neglected by Protestant writers, Professor Scheel studies the relations of Luther's faith with the Catholicism of the end of the Middle Ages. A strong desire to be impartial animates the work. We shall be delighted to see the continuation which the historian promises.

On the occasion of the Zwingli celebration in 1919 the German-Swiss Reformed churches published several works, one of which, at least, deserves to be mentioned, a folio volume, *Ulrich Zwingli*, put forth by the canton and city of Zurich, with the co-operation of the university, the archives, the central library, and several learned societies, and richly illustrated; but it has already been reviewed in this journal.<sup>15</sup> Attention has also been called in these pages to the able and original work lately published by another Swiss historian, Professor Eduard Fueter, on general European politics at the beginning of the modern period.<sup>16</sup>

From the sixteenth century we are obliged to skip abruptly to the beginning of the nineteenth century. For, except for the volumes of Eugen Guglia on *Maria Theresia* (1917), which have been spoken of in these pages,<sup>17</sup> no important work has appeared on the seventeenth or eighteenth century. On the Napoleonic epoch Therese Ebbinghaus produces a rather interesting contribution in her study *Napoleon, England, und die Presse, 1800–1803*.<sup>18</sup> Up to the present, historians who have paid any attention to the press under Napoleon

<sup>14</sup> O. Scheel, *Martin Luther, von Katholizismus zur Reformation*, Band I., *Auf der Schule und Universität*; Band II., *Im Kloster* (Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr, 1916, 1917).

<sup>15</sup> *Ulrich Zwingli: Zum Gedächtnis der Zürcher Reformation, 1519–1919* (Zurich, Berichthaus, 1919). See p. 316, above.

<sup>16</sup> Eduard Fueter, *Geschichte des Europäischen Staatensystems von 1492–1559* (Zurich, Munich, and Berlin, R. Oldenbourg, 1919). See p. 709, below.

<sup>17</sup> *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXIV. 674.

<sup>18</sup> Munich and Berlin, R. Oldenbourg, 1914.

have seen especially the negative side, the censorship. Madame Ebbinghaus studies the positive side, setting forth the use which Napoleon knew how to make of the press, often inspiring it in the interest of his policy. The press so inspired played an important part during the years between the signing and the breaking of the peace of Amiens. Her work, based upon documents in the archives and on the reading of all the newspapers of the period, comes to this conclusion: "When one considers the French press throughout this crisis, one comes to agree with those who see in Napoleon not the aggressor but the attacked."

Another work on the Napoleonic period, H. Ulmann's *Geschichte der Befreiungskriege*,<sup>19</sup> has already been reviewed in this journal.

Other anniversaries have been the occasion of important publications. Thus, the annexation of the Rhine provinces to Prussia has given rise to no less than three works: *Die Rheinprovinz, 1815-1915*; *Preussen und Rheinland von 1815 bis 1915*; *Die Stadt Cöln im Ersten Jahrhundert unter Preussischer Herrschaft*.<sup>20</sup> The first, published under the direction of Joseph Hansen, brings together a number of collaborators, Rhenish historians, each of whom has treated a particular subject—politics, administration, economic life, schools, religion, art, and literature. The second, a briefer work, by Dr. Hansen himself, is of a more popular character, and seeks to prove that "union with Prussia has been for the greater material, intellectual, and moral good of the country". Such is also the intention of the city of Cologne in the large work which it has published. At the beginning of the Prussian domination it seemed that the city might have lost its importance, since the supreme tribunal of the Rhenish province had been removed to Coblenz, since Düsseldorf had become the seat of the provincial Landtag, and since the old university had been transferred to Bonn. But from 1840 on, under the spur of the economic development of Germany, the position of primacy returned to the former Hanse town of the Middle Ages; its commerce and its industry have made it one of the greatest cities of Germany. Here also was found the centre of the Rhenish

<sup>19</sup> H. Ulmann, *Geschichte der Befreiungskriege* (2 vols., 1914). See *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XX, 853, XXI, 148.

<sup>20</sup> *Die Rheinprovinz, 1815-1915: Hundert Jahre Preussischer Herrschaft am Rhein* (2 vols., Bonn, Marcus und Weber, 1917). *Preussen und Rheinland von 1815 bis 1915: Hundert Jahre Politischen Lebens am Rhein* (Bonn, Marcus und Weber, 1918). *Die Stadt Cöln im Ersten Jahrhundert unter Preussischer Herrschaft, 1815-1915*, herausgegeben von der Stadt Cöln (2 vols., Cöln, Neubner, 1915, 1916).



liberalism of 1848, of which Hanseemann, Camphausen, and Merissen were the chiefs.

Memories of the revolution of 1848 revived by the German revolution of 1918 have been evoked by Professor Veit Valentin in a volume on *Die Erste Deutsche Nationalversammlung*.<sup>21</sup> That congress, "too much neglected up to the present by the historians", says Professor Valentin, nevertheless deserves study, for it laid the foundation of all German constitutional life. Discredited by Prussian national historians, it was none the less "rich in intelligence", avowedly inspired by the liberal ideas of France, of England, and of America. The author presents the work of the assembly and draws the portraits of its best-known members. His book rests upon a profound knowledge of the subject, and is one of the good historical works of recent years.

A question much discussed at that time was that of *Mittleuropa*, not in the sense in which Friedrich Naumann used the term—a great political empire in the centre of Europe—but in the sense of a confederation of peoples based on the principle of free trade. One of the protagonists of that idea was Baron Bruck, minister of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, of whom the Austrian historian Richard Charmatz has just recounted the life and achievements, using important documents found in the Austrian archives.<sup>22</sup> Rising from very modest circumstances, this Rhenish Prussian who entered the service of Austria mounted to the highest positions of state. He founded the Austrian Lloyd and promoted all the economic reforms which contributed to the prosperity of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the middle of the nineteenth century. Seeing the greatness of a country only in its peaceful industry, he disapproved of the war of 1859, yet fell a victim to it, for, being at that time head of the empire's administration, he was held responsible for the defeat; the emperor demanded his resignation, and von Bruck in despair took his own life. Dr. Charmatz rehabilitates this worthy man, a convinced philanthropist and advocate of free trade.

German political life since 1859 has been the subject of several works. Dr. Hermann Wendorf has studied the origin of the Catholic party of the Centre,<sup>23</sup> seeking to relieve that party of the reproach

<sup>21</sup> Veit Valentin, *Die Erste Deutsche Nationalversammlung: eine Geschichtliche Studie über die Frankfurter Paulskirche* (Munich and Berlin, R. Oldenbourg, 1918).

<sup>22</sup> R. Charmatz, *Minister Freiherr von Bruck, der Vorkämpfer Mitteleuropas: sein Lebensgang und seine Denkschriften* (Leipzig, S. Hirzel, 1916).

<sup>23</sup> H. Wendorf, *Die Fraktion des Zentrums im Preussischen Abgeordnetenhaus, 1859-1867* (Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer, 1916).



of having held "particularist tendencies or even of having been hostile to Prussia". What may be conceded to Dr. Wendorf is that the Rhenish Catholics, who had tasted liberty under French domination, were for the most part more liberal than the majority of Prussian liberals, who after the victories of 1864 and 1866 became admirers of Bismarck's policies.

Two works devoted to this evolution of the German Liberal party are Otto Westphal's *Welt- und Staatsauffassung des Deutschen Liberalismus* and Hildegard Katsch's *Heinrich von Treitschke und die Preussisch-Deutsche Frage von 1860-1866*.<sup>24</sup> Herr Westphal is concerned particularly with the rôle played in this evolution by the *Preussische Jahrbücher*, which at first, with Freytag's *Grenzboten*, was the organ of the German liberals. After 1864 this review ceased to combat Bismarck's policy and during the summer of 1866, when Treitschke became its director, it became frankly reactionary.

Treitschke played the principal part in this transformation of the party, and from this point of view the last volume of his correspondence, which appeared in two parts in 1917 and 1920,<sup>25</sup> is an important historic document. In 1866, as is well known, the historian was a professor in the University of Freiburg-im-Breisgau. As soon as war was declared he took refuge at Berlin, where he became the director of the *Preussische Jahrbücher*. The war ended, Bismarck would have liked to attach him to his service, but Treitschke, wishing to preserve his independence, refused. Professor at Kiel, then at Heidelberg, then at Berlin, he was also a deputy to the Reichstag, where at first he defended the National-Liberal policies; then, turning away from his former friends, he enrolled himself in the Conservative ranks. His correspondence gives us interesting information on the political life of the time. He at first welcomed the accession of William II., but when the young sovereign broke with Bismarck, he became an enemy of the "new course". He expected no good to come of "this feverish ardor" and often uttered prophetic warnings. In 1895 he writes in one of his letters: "For the immediate future, I can only hope for peace; for, since every war is political, I do not see how such a government could ever be victorious (*sollte jemals siegen*)."<sup>26</sup> The older he grew the more pessimistic Treitschke became; he was saddened by the thought that his days were numbered and that yet he had "so many more things to say to the Germans".

<sup>24</sup> Both volumes published by R. Oldenbourg, Munich, 1919.

<sup>25</sup> *Heinrich von Treitschkes Briefe*, herausgegeben von Max Cornicelius, Band III., 1866-1896 (Leipzig, S. Hirzel, 1920).

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, III. 638-639.

The history of the formation of the German Empire, which Treitschke had intended to write "in a short volume", to crown his *Deutsche Geschichte im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, has been recounted concisely by Erich Brandenburg in his work, *Die Reichsgründung*,<sup>27</sup> written before the war but not published until 1916. Erich Brandenburg is not a philosophical historian; he contents himself with telling the facts, and his narrative is always sober, I should even say a little too bald. There are no portraits nor pictures, no reflections that reveal imagination; his book is a dry exposition of a situation logically unfolding. Thus the best portions of this history are not those which demand psychological insight, but those in which political questions are discussed, for example the relations between Bismarck and Napoleon III., the origins of the war of 1866, the candidacy of the Hohenzollern prince for the throne of Spain. On the other hand, Brandenburg has failed completely in his exposition of the sentiments of the liberals of 1848. What a cold picture he has given us! One regrets while reading it that Treitschke was not able to write the sixth volume of his *Deutsche Geschichte*, in which he intended to tell the story of that revolution. What color and life he would have given it!

Erich Marcks, who has just written a new biography of Bismarck,<sup>28</sup> is a better psychologist than Erich Brandenburg. It is a brief study which he felt compelled to write before continuing the larger work which he had begun on the same subject, the first volume of which appeared in 1909. He states his aim in these words: "I have desired to acquaint Germans now struggling for their existence with the deeds of a great German whose heroic figure embodies strength and confidence, courage and faith." He says too that the work was written "almost without books", and very rapidly. This circumstance, which to any one else would have been a disadvantage, has on the contrary helped Professor Marcks. Such a master of his subject is he, that he can treat it with the greatest facility. I should even say that, unembarrassed by the weight of too much erudition and dealing directly with essentials, he has written a masterpiece. At all events I do not hesitate to say that, to my mind, *Otto von Bismarck* is his best work.

With Bismarck we come to the great political problems of our own time, which have been abundantly dealt with during the war:

<sup>27</sup> E. Brandenburg, *Die Reichsgründung* (2 vols., Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer, 1916).

<sup>28</sup> E. Marcks, *Otto von Bismarck: ein Lebensbild* (Stuttgart, Cotta, 1918).

the problem of nationality, the problem of *Mitteleuropa*, the colonial problem, the problem of imperialism.

At the time of Italy's entrance into the war Ludo M. Hartmann wrote a little book, *Hundert Jahre Italienischer Geschichte*,<sup>29</sup> which is a clear and lively exposition of the making of united Italy. Professor Hartmann, who has devoted his life to the study of the history of the Italian people, has evidently suffered at seeing that people join with the enemies of Germany. But he utters no recriminations. He gives to his work the motto: "Ich lasse dich nicht, Du segnest mich doch."<sup>30</sup> And indeed he shows, throughout, as much sympathy for the Italian people as objectivity in his account of their struggles for national autonomy.

Feeling of the same sort inspires the work of W. Feldman, *Geschichte der Politischen Ideen in Polen seit dessen Teilungen, 1795-1914*.<sup>31</sup> The author, a native of Poland, for some time during the war directed the Polish press bureau in Berlin. Thoroughly versed in his country's history, he undertook, at the time when Polish independence was recognized by the Central Powers, to explain to the German-speaking public the history of the aspirations of his people toward liberty and national independence. Although written under the influence of present realities, his well-documented book is a work of serious value, which sets forth for the first time the whole of the Polish problem as it stood during the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The Ukrainian and Egyptian problems have been treated in two works, the first by Professor Hruschewskij (Grushevski), *Geschichte der Ukraine* (1916), the other by Adolf Hasenclever, *Geschichte Aegyptens im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (1917); but as these books have been reviewed in this journal,<sup>32</sup> I shall content myself with mentioning them.

Neither shall I speak of the famous book of Friedrich Naumann, *Mitteleuropa* (1916), which is not at all the work of an historian; but as the ideas there expressed have been the subject of discussion by true historians, I shall say a few words about the book by Professor Hermann Oncken, *Das Alte und das Neue Mitteleuropa*,<sup>33</sup>

<sup>29</sup> L. M. Hartmann, *Hundert Jahre Italienischer Geschichte: die Grundlagen des Modernen Italiens, 1815 bis 1915* (Munich, G. Müller, 1916).

<sup>30</sup> ["I will not let thee go, except thou bless me." Genesis xxxii. 26. Ed.]

<sup>31</sup> Munich and Berlin, R. Oldenbourg, 1917.

<sup>32</sup> *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXIV. 666, XXV. 114.

<sup>33</sup> Sub-title: *Historisch-politische Betrachtungen über Deutsche Bündnispolitik im Zeitalter Bismarcks und im Zeitalter des Weltkrieges* (Gotha, Perthes, 1917).

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which deserves some attention. A realist of Bismarck's school, Oncken criticizes with penetration Naumann's "work of political mysticism", declaring his programme to be one of "impracticable and undesirable centralization". Oncken believes that the time of great centralized empires is ended and that we are advancing rather to the idea of the federation of states. "One thing is certain", he says, "that things will never go back to the condition in which they were before the war." He remarks also that the Prussian state lacked flexibility in its treatment of alien populations incorporated into the empire, or attached to it—Poles, Alsatians, Danes. "Force is good", he says, "in its place; but justice must not be forgotten." It is interesting also to find Oncken undertaking the defense of small nationalities and recognizing that the Pan-Germanists "did an irreparable wrong to Germany by flaunting the spectre of world-hegemony".

On the colonial problem the work of Professor Veit Valentin, *Kolonialgeschichte der Neuzeit*,<sup>34</sup> may be cited, a good résumé of all the colonial enterprises of modern peoples, written for the purpose of orienting his compatriots with respect to "a subject too much neglected in Germany". The work is a comparative study of what each nation has done in the field of colonization; Professor Valentin seeks to show that the German nation has something to learn from each, especially from the English, whose experience seems to him decisive.

It is England again which Professor Felix Salomon proposes as an example to his people in his book, *Der Britische Imperialismus*.<sup>35</sup> After showing that the word imperialism, first coming into use after 1878 to designate a movement toward outward expansion, is closely connected with colonial policy, he gives the history of the most important of such movements—British imperialism. He says that, though writing in the midst of the war, he was able "to stifle his patriotic feeling and speak of the subject without anger". "I have no wish", he adds, "but to further the political culture of the German people." His discussion is in fact objective, and is besides well done. "I have wished", he says, "to write a book which shall be read rather than studied."

There is no chapter of English colonial history in respect to

<sup>34</sup> Veit Valentin, *Kolonialgeschichte der Neuzeit: ein Abriss* (Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr, 1915).

<sup>35</sup> F. Salomon, *Der Britische Imperialismus: ein Geschichtlicher Ueberblick über den Wendegang des Britischen Reiches vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1916).

which Germans have entertained more prejudices than in the case of India. It is to combat these prejudices that Professor Sten Konow has written *Indien unter der Englischen Herrschaft*.<sup>36</sup> After describing the country and the people, explaining the conditions existing when the Europeans came, and sketching briefly the first attempts at colonization by the Portuguese, the French, and the Dutch, he studies searchingly the admirable work of the English, who succeeded best in adapting themselves practically to the customs of the country and the minds of the inhabitants. Reviewing their accomplishments in administration, finance, transportation, agriculture, industry, commerce, intellectual and moral improvement, he refutes the assertion that British power in India rests on frail foundations. The majority of the Hindus are happy under English rule, and these splendid results, Professor Konow adds, are due less "to armed force or even to the economic prosperity of the country, than to the admirable activities of the government and to the devotion with which the officials perform their duties".

Among the innumerable historical lectures, pamphlets, and essays which have appeared in Germany during the war, several may be mentioned which have survived the occasion that called them forth. One such is the pamphlet of Professor Eduard Meyer, *Das Britische Weltreich*,<sup>37</sup> a good exposition of the historical development of British power. Another is the short study of Professor Georg von Below, *Deutschland und die Hohenzollern*,<sup>38</sup> which is beyond doubt an apology for the Prussian ruling family but which sums up their work well. In the collection of *Vorlesungen der Gehestiftung in Dresden*, I note three monographs which deserve to be signalized: the very fine piece of work by Professor Fritz Fleiner entitled *Die Staatsauffassung der Franzosen*,<sup>39</sup> and two essays on English politics, one by Ernst Schultze, *Die Politische Bildung in England*, the other by Professor Julius Hatschek, *Die Staatsauffassung der Engländer*.<sup>40</sup>

Volumes of collected essays have been relatively numerous. I mention in passing those of Professor Alfred Stern, *Reden, Vorträge und Abhandlungen* (1914), and those of Professor Hermann Oncken, *Historisch-Politische Aufsätze und Reden* (1914), which have been reviewed in these pages.<sup>41</sup> Another volume which ap-

<sup>36</sup> Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr, 1915.

<sup>37</sup> Berlin, Heymann, 1918.

<sup>38</sup> Leipzig, S. Hirzel, 1915.

<sup>39</sup> Leipzig, Teubner, 1915.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 1914, 1917.

<sup>41</sup> *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXII. 199, XX. 407.

peared later is the *Historische Aufsätze* of Professor Heinrich Friedjung,<sup>42</sup> dealing especially with Austrian history. These essays, for the most part written before the war, have not been influenced by events. In his preface however, dated March, 1919, the author discusses the question of the future of the Hapsburg monarchy. "A state is not incapable of living because it has been vanquished." He believes in the possibility of resurrection, not of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy, but of a Danubian Confederation, bound together by economic interests. He indicates also the tasks awaiting the Austrian historians of to-morrow (preface, p. xv).

Professor Friedrich Meinecke also has a volume of collected essays written in recent years on Prussia and Germany in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.<sup>43</sup> It contains studies of the period of the Wars of Liberation, of the reign of Frederick William IV. and the rise of Bismarck, of several German historians, among others Ranke, Treitschke, and Dove, and considerations of several questions relative to the war (*Kultur, Machtpolitik, Militarismus und die Deutsche Freiheit*). Meinecke, who is a moderate spirit, more akin to Ranke than to Treitschke,<sup>44</sup> recognizes that in the national movement, prepared by the patriots of 1813, strengthened by the liberals of 1848, and realized in the Prussian state with the co-operation of cultivated Germans, errors were committed. Even before the defeat of 1917, he wrote in his preface: "After the war we shall have to submit all the steps of that movement to the tribunal of the national conscience (*eine nationale Selbstprüfung*)."

This self-examination Professor Meinecke undertakes in a little book written after the war and entitled *Nach der Revolution*.<sup>45</sup> The chapters are as follows: the Eve of the Revolution, the Causes of the German Revolution, the National Idea in Old and New Germany, Parallels of our Situation from World History, a Conversation in the Autumn of 1919. With "the historical love for all that is alive", Professor Meinecke does not give himself up to sterile regrets; he examines calmly what is past. The essential thing, to him, is "to derive the lesson from events". "A misfortune understood", he says, "will restore to us clearness of aim and firmness of action." He recognizes the errors of the past, "aggressive and brutal nation-

<sup>42</sup> Stuttgart and Berlin, Cotta, 1919.

<sup>43</sup> F. Meinecke, *Preussen und Deutschland im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert: Historische und Politische Aufsätze* (Munich and Berlin, R. Oldenbourg, 1918). See above, p. 266.

<sup>44</sup> See his eulogy of Ranke, *ibid.*, p. 113.

<sup>45</sup> *Nach der Revolution: Geschichtliche Betrachtungen über unsere Tage* (Munich and Berlin, R. Oldenbourg, 1920).

alism", "the intoxication of power". He would have the nation forsake its errors and face seriously the duties of the future. "A misfortune", he says, "is more fitted to instruct the people than a happy victory." "We deny nothing of the past", he says, also, "but we do not shut ourselves up in it, and we look forward!" Urging his people to forget the past of Bismarck, which is gone forever, he would have them devote all their efforts to the organization of the democracy, and he does not even shrink from a reasonable socialism. "If the Germans", he says, "succeed in organizing in their country a rational socialism, they will exert an influence, by attraction, in other nations." But above all Professor Meinecke preaches a return to the liberal traditions of the great Germans of the past. "The most important task to-day", he says, "is to realize at last the aspirations of the German idealists and Prussian reformers of a hundred years ago, and to cause even the lowest strata of the people to be permeated by that civil virtue (*Staatsethos*) which flows from the moral liberty of the individual."

During the war there were many polemics between historians favoring force and liberal historians leaning to moderate measures and conciliation. This controversy crystallized for a time about two names, those of Dietrich Schäfer, the fiery nationalist historian, and Hans Delbrück, editor of the *Preussische Jahrbücher*, who opposed with all his might the Pan-German doctrines. Another historian, Professor Gustav Wolf, wishing to set forth in historical fashion the origin of this conflict has written a book on the subject, *Dietrich Schäfer und Hans Delbrück*.<sup>46</sup> It is a kind of history of the historical movement called *kleindeutsch*, of which Treitschke is the most authoritative representative. The work, it is true, has nothing new to teach, but it has a documentary value in that it reveals the mentality of most of the German historians during the war.

We prefer the purely scientific work which Professor Moriz Ritter has devoted to *Die Entwicklung der Geschichtswissenschaft an den führenden Werken betrachtet*.<sup>47</sup> As a matter of fact all the great historians do not find a place; Ritter has chosen especially those who have contributed something new, or who have had a system, or at least general ideas. So, to speak only of the most important, he has devoted chapters to Thucydides, Aristotle and his *Politics*, Polybius, St. Augustine and his *City of God*, Machiavelli,

<sup>46</sup> G. Wolf, *Dietrich Schäfer und Hans Delbrück: Nationale Ziele der Deutschen Geschichtschreibung seit der Französischen Revolution* (Gotha, Perthes, 1918).

<sup>47</sup> Munich and Berlin, R. Oldenbourg, 1919.



some historians of the Renaissance and of the seventeenth century, then Montesquieu, Voltaire, Adam Smith, Gibbon, Niebuhr, Ranke, Burckhardt, and Lamprecht. The idea which inspired Dr. Ritter's work is easily seen from these names. He gives the preference to synthetic historians rather than to narrators. That being the case, one asks why his gallery does not contain Guizot, Tocqueville, and Fustel de Coulanges. We cannot think that Dr. Ritter is prejudiced against French historical science of the nineteenth century, although he makes the statement that if in the preceding centuries Italy, England, and France held the primacy in history, that primacy to-day belongs to Germany. This is not the opinion of Professor F. M. Fling, who said in 1905 at a meeting of the American Historical Association: "The French have displaced the Germans in the historical world and now hold the primacy."<sup>48</sup>

Such was also the opinion of Jacob Burckhardt, who, although he owed his historical education to Germany, recognized as masters the great French and English historians, especially Gibbon. "In history", he was wont to say, "only essentials should be emphasized, and the essential can often be said in a few pages." He proved it himself, by his historical works, which are all short and rich in substance. He proved it especially by his essays and lectures, the most remarkable of which were collected on the occasion of his centenary in 1918.<sup>49</sup> The most diverse subjects are there treated: the Country of the Phaeacians in Homer, the Services rendered to Science by the Greeks, the Culinary Art of the Greeks, Pythagoras, Dion Chrysostom, Rome under Gregory the Great, Byzantium in the Tenth Century, Demetrius, Rembrandt, Dutch Genre Painting, Van Dyck, the Letters of Madame de Sévigné, Napoleon according to the most Recent Sources, etc. Each of these essays is a marvellous piece of history, admirably concise as only Jacob Burckhardt could make it, with his sound erudition, his sagacity, and his great historical insight. I may add that on the occasion of this anniversary two professors of the University of Basel, Karl Joël and Emil Dürr, published two studies of their teacher, the first *Jacob Burckhardt als Geschichtsphilosoph*,<sup>50</sup> in which the attempt is made to reveal the guiding thoughts of his work, the second *Freiheit und Macht bei Jacob Burckhardt*,<sup>51</sup> in which we are shown how foreign to the mind

<sup>48</sup> *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XI. 507 (1906).

<sup>49</sup> *Jacob Burckhardts Vorträge, 1844-1887*, im Auftrage der Historischen und Antiquarischen Gesellschaft zu Basel herausgegeben von Emil Dürr (Basel, Bruno Schwabe, 1918).

<sup>50</sup> Basel, Helbing und Lichtenhahn, 1918.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 1918.

of this individualist, educated in a little republic of liberal spirit and solid culture, was the concept of the *Obrigkeitsstaat* held by the majority of German historians. Jacob Burckhardt indeed maintained that liberty was intimately bound up with the existence of small states or states grouped in a federation.

I have reserved for the end of this study the publications of a general historical character or those forming parts of collections. In the first category I shall simply mention the ninth volume of Theodor Lindner's *Weltgeschichte* and the seventh volume of Professor Alfred Stern's *Geschichte Europas*, both of which have been the object of reviews in this journal.<sup>52</sup> The same is true of the fifth and last volume of Johannes Dierauer's *Geschichte der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft*,<sup>53</sup> which forms a part of the collection *Geschichte der Europäischen Staaten*. This general history of Switzerland, the most complete and scientific that we have, has met with deserved success. The first two volumes have been reprinted for the third time, and the author, before his death, was able to revise and improve this new edition. In the same collection Professor Blok has added to his *Geschichte der Niederlande* a volume which extends to 1795.<sup>54</sup>

In the collection of *Deutsche Landesgeschichten*, edited by Arnim Tille, two new volumes have appeared, *Geschichte von Mecklenburg*, by Otto Vineuse, and *Neuere Geschichte der Freien Hansestadt Hamburg*, by Adolf Wohlwill.<sup>55</sup> These two monographs are written by local scholars who have devoted their lives to the study of the history of their native districts, and their work is complete and richly documented. Herr Vineuse traverses the history of the duchies of Mecklenburg from the earliest times to the revolution of 1918. His work is a corrective to the richly colored but partial picture of Treitschke, *Altständisches Stilleben in Norddeutschland*. Adolph Wohlwill's work on Hamburg treats in detail only the history of the revolutionary epoch and the occupation of the city by Napoleon. Having made a profound study of this period by researches carried on since 1875 in the archives of the Hanseatic towns, of Berlin, of Copenhagen, of Stockholm, of the Hague, and of Paris, he draws a

<sup>52</sup> T. Lindner, *Weltgeschichte seit der Völkerwanderung*, IX. (1916); A. Stern, *Geschichte Europas seit den Verträgen von 1815 bis zum Frankfurter Frieden von 1871*, VII. (1916). See *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXV. 103, XXIV. 680.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIV. 683.

<sup>54</sup> *Geschichte der Niederlande*, Band IV. (Gotha, Perthes, 1919).

<sup>55</sup> *Deutsche Landesgeschichten: Geschichte von Mecklenburg* (Gotha, Perthes, 1920); *Neuere Geschichte der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg, insbesondere von 1789 bis 1815* (*ibid.*, 1914).

picture at once complete and vivid of the great maritime city, of its political, social, economic, intellectual, literary, and artistic life, during the troubled times of the revolutionary wars and the Continental blockade. An introduction of eighty pages sketches for us the life of Hamburg up to 1789, and a final chapter summarizes the history of the city from 1815 to the present time.

The collection of manuals entitled *Grundriss der Geschichtswissenschaft* has been enriched by a new volume, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte vom 15. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart*, by Fritz Hartung;<sup>56</sup> it is an excellent summary of the history of the political institutions of Germany from the end of the Middle Ages to the foundation of the Hohenzollern empire. It supplements happily other manuals of the same collection, for example that of Claudius von Schwerin, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, a second edition of which, considerably enlarged, appeared in 1915. Finally, Heinrich Sieveking has published a second edition, revised and enlarged, of his *Grundzüge der Neueren Wirtschaftsgeschichte vom 17. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart*,<sup>57</sup> which presents in its larger outlines the history of modern economic theories: mercantilism, free trade, the development of capitalism, and the evolution of European socialism from Saint-Simon to the present day.

An interesting collection, begun since the war, is that of Perthes, *Kleine Völker- und Länderkunde*, which, however, does not embrace small countries alone, since China is included. The publisher's design is to give an acquaintance with the countries not classed among the great world-powers and therefore less known. Up to the present time seven monographs have appeared: *Ireland*, by Julius Pokorny, *Rumania*, by Baron Otto von Dungern, *Sweden*, by Dr. Fritz Arnheim, *Poland*, by Dr. E. Zivier, *Turkey*, by Dr. Achmed Emin, *Bulgaria*, by Dr. G. F. Kunzer, and *China*, by Dr. Eduard Erkes.<sup>58</sup> These studies are at once geographical, historical, political, social, and economic. For each of them the house of Perthes has called upon a specialist, living in the country if possible and thoroughly acquainted with it.

This rapid sketch will be sufficient, I think, to give an idea of German historical activity during the war and in the year which has followed it. As I said at the beginning of this article, historical productivity in Germany has been retarded by the world-cataclysm; it is none the less important. In intellectual fields Germany remains

<sup>56</sup> Leipzig, Teubner, 1914.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 1915.

<sup>58</sup> Gotha, Perthes, 1916-1919.

still a great productive country. Admirably equipped, thanks to her universities, models of organization, and to her multitudes of workers in all fields of thought, thanks to her seminaries, her great libraries, her laboratories, her scientific institutions which, like that of Lamprecht at Leipzig, for history, are unrivalled, thanks to her book industry, to her great encyclopaedic scientific collections, Germany offers immense resources. In the domain of history she may perhaps no longer boast of uncontested primacy, but at least her position is still very high. German historical science, which has so often taken the lead in new paths and which has been able to combine boldness of hypotheses with improved methods, exact control of sources, and the ingenious application of ideas, has too often strayed, before and during the war, toward a jealous and aggressive nationalism, which deprived history of its true nature and turned it aside from its scientific aim, making of it an instrument of political and national propaganda. History's function as teacher of nations and of life can nowise be questioned; *historia magister vitae*, said the Latin historian, and one cannot dissent from Professor Meinecke, for example, when he says that in his country it must work toward national recovery. But there are more ways than one to work toward that recovery, and any method which claims to make science serve utilitarian and egoistic ends is a bad method. Science should serve only the most irreproachable ends. It must not be employed to swell the pride of a people or to sustain extravagant pretensions to power and dominance in the world. This hypertrophy of national feeling, this madness of the "will to power" have worked only too much harm to German historical science. It is time for it to be set free from them and to return to the pure, idealistic traditions which formerly gave it its strength and its greatness. By such courses it will be assured of power to create work of permanent worth, the *τῆμα εἰς αἰ* celebrated by the Greek historian.

ANTOINE GUILLAND.

## LA REPÚBLICA DE RÍO GRANDE<sup>1</sup>

ONE of the political traits of the Spanish is a distinct centrifugal tendency. Havelock Ellis mentions it as a "clannish preference for small social groups", and Peninsular history illustrates the principle. From Spain it passed over the sea to Mexico. Before her separation from the mother-country the provinces, each ruled by its intendant, knew little about one another, and cared even less. Not long after the transient empire of Itúrbide vanished (1823) and before a republican system was established, they began to claim full individual sovereignty, and the nation soon found itself on the point of breaking up. In later years secessionist plans continued to be entertained; and even during the war between Mexico and this country, not only did Yucatan hold aloof and many in Vera Cruz and neighboring states plot for withdrawal, but the formidable "Coalition of Lagos", embracing nearly all the centre of the republic, became almost a national organization.<sup>2</sup>

For a number of reasons this tendency was peculiarly strong at the north. Remoteness from the capital, greatly emphasized by the wretched means of communication, had a marked influence. The political divisions of that region formed a natural group, and had interests more or less common but not the same as those of the central group, in which the city of Mexico lay; and Santa Anna, long the dominant factor in the nation's affairs, promoted the latter at the expense of the former. In March, 1845, the minister of war admitted publicly that the northern departments had been "abandoned and more than abandoned" by the general government. Business enterprises had to suffer much from official caprice, tyranny, corruption, and exactions. In California, aside from gross neglect, national troops, instead of protecting the hard-pressed settlements against the savages, harassed the citizens with insults and outrages.

<sup>1</sup> The words "State Dept.", "War Dept.", "Navy Dept." refer to the archives of the United States State, War, and Navy Departments; "F.O." to the archives of the British Foreign Office preserved at the Public Record Office, London; the abbreviations "Relaciones arch.", "Gobernación arch.", and "Guerra arch." indicate respectively the archives of the Secretaría de Relaciones, the Secretaría de Gobernación, and the Secretaría de Guerra, in the city of Mexico.

<sup>2</sup> Havelock Ellis, *The Soul of Spain* (1908), p. 51; J. H. Smith, *The War with Mexico* (1919), I. 36, II. 87, 204; Marcy to Scott, April 30, 1847, War Dept.; *New York Sun*, May 24, 1847.

New Mexico received a little more attention, for a man who gave his note for \$3000 had to pay eight dollars for stamped paper; but she experienced similar abuse. In all the northern sections taxes were levied unfairly and unequally; and, as a rule, what power the general government exerted was potent, not for protection and assistance, but only for injury. The establishment of a centralized régime in 1835, which transformed states into mere departments and greatly limited the control of their own affairs that had been enjoyed by the people under the federal system, and the cruel treatment inflicted upon Zacatecas for opposing the change, caused a profound resentment; and the presence of many Spaniards, refugees from two edicts of expulsion, gave a special bitterness to this feeling.<sup>3</sup>

California fell, therefore, into a chronic state of revolt, and in 1844 the British consular agent at Monterey stated that "but one universal sentiment of unqualified aversion to the continuance of Mexican Authority" existed there. Indeed the people drove out the national troops in 1845, and set up a government of their own. New Mexico rebelled in 1837; and, although her feeble effort accomplished nothing, embers of revolt continued to live. In 1829 Richard Pakenham, who then represented Great Britain at Mexico, discovered that Jalisco had invited four other members of the confederation to form a league with her; and he believed this combination would be made with secession as one of its aims. Three years later he reported that, should the civil war then raging continue, Jalisco, Durango, Zacatecas, and other states of the north would come together as an independent nation; and the American minister predicted that nine states would unite in forming a new republic. A little later the French representative mentioned a separatist movement in Chihuahua. In 1836 the New Orleans *Bee* published a letter written at Zacatecas in July, which declared that all northern Mexico appeared to favor some plan of withdrawal. Serious revolts occurred in San Luis Potosí and Sonora during 1837, and in various quarters the following year. 1839 found eight northern states insubordinate, and the revolutionary temper showed itself more than once. In 1841 the New Orleans *Courier* and the *Commercial Bulletin* of that city announced that all the northern parts of Mexico seemed

<sup>3</sup> Smith, *War with Mexico*, I. 16, 39, 42, 47, 284-285, 319-322, 375, 522-523, II. 510; Charles Bankhead, British minister to Mexico, F.O., nos. 89, 148, June 29, October 6, 1846; I. Mora y Villamil, April 23, 1846, Guerra arch.; *Defensor de Tamaulipas*, April 29, 1847; H. de Mesa to Zachary Taylor, September 30, 1846, War Dept.; [Poinsett in] *De Bow's Review*, July, 1846; J. H. Smith, *The Annexation of Texas* (1911), pp. 46-48; G. T. M. Davis, *Autobiography* (1891), p. 107; A. J. Yates to Marcy, January 25, 1846, War Dept.

likely to rebel; and, as time went on, sentiments of this color merely deepened in tone. About the first of January, 1846, an influential newspaper of the capital, *La Voz del Pueblo*, confessed that many influential citizens at the north, made desperate by misrule and Indian ravages, were for secession, and evidently the editor did not blame them.<sup>4</sup>

It was the northeastern section of the country, however, that exhibited the most signal manifestations of this tendency; and in January, 1846, a secret agent of the Mexican government, writing from the capital of Tamaulipas, pronounced the idea of separation "as old as it is deeply fixed among these people". Not long after the fall of Itúrbide, indeed, a movement aiming at independence disclosed itself in Coahuila, Tamaulipas, and Nuevo León, and these provinces formed a *junta* or committee at Monterey to promote the design. In 1832 a plan existed in that quarter to unite in declaring at least a provisional independence. When the Mexican troops retired from Texas in 1836, their demoralization and misery led to unusual excesses, and they became, said the *Monitor Republicano*, "the terrible scourge" of the districts near the Rio Grande. Many officers remained at the gaming tables day and night, and the soldiers gave themselves up to robbery without restraint. This conduct and attacks upon the personal liberty of influential citizens led to a movement for the restoration of federalism. The loss of chiefs, however, and the predominance of Santa Anna, who preferred centralism, weakened and disheartened the federalists. The hopes of reviving that system faded; and in 1838 the intense dissatisfaction became articulate in the proclamation of a North Mexican Republic. The following year this name gave place to "República de Río Grande". For a time success appeared to be in sight. The chief leader was General Antonio Canales, and early in 1840 he caused the new state to be formally organized.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Smith, *War with Mexico*, I. 284-285, 319-322, 522-523; *id.*, *Annexation*, pp. 46-48; F. M. Dimond, Vera Cruz, to State Dept., no. 341, May 24, 1846, State Dept.; Zacatecas assembly to national congress, July 7, 1846, Gobernación arch.; Anthony Butler, August 1, 1832, State Dept.; Paris, Arch. Aff. Étr., Corresp. pol., Mexique, VIII. 300, XVIII. 52, XXII. 16; *Voz del Pueblo* in New Orleans *Picayune*, January 11, 1846.

<sup>5</sup> Smith, *Annexation*, pp. 37, 46-47; Taylor to adjutant general, no. 79, August 26, 1846, War Dept.; Mesa to Taylor, undated, enclosed in Taylor's no. 79; Montiel to Parrodi, Victoria, January 9, 1846 (*res.*), Guerra arch.; secret agent, January 9, 1846, *ibid.*; Francisco Mejía, February 4, July 19, 1846, *ibid.*; *Monitor Republicano*, June 14, 1846; Smith, *War with Mexico*, II. 1; Antonio Soto, Linares, July 4, 1846, Guerra arch.; H. H. Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas* (1883, 1889), II. 327-332; H. Yoakum, *History of Texas* (1855), II. 274-280, 288-297.



Naturally the existence of neighbors on the other side of the Rio Grande was not forgotten by these unhappy Mexicans. From an early date smuggling and ordinary mercantile operations were carried on with the Texans. Even while national troops, relieved from active service by the battle of San Jacinto, occupied Matamoros, this lucrative tariff flourished; and by August, 1844, it was estimated that about 16,500 Mexicans were more or less directly concerned in it. Political affiliations readily sprang up. As early as 1832 union with Texas was proposed. In 1839 the malcontents begged Texas to espouse their cause, and the following year a French writer, named Frédéric Leclerc, who had recently visited that quarter, stated that a large part of the people in five departments were disposed to unite with Texas or—what would have meant the same—organize a government of their own under her protection. General Mariano Arista, the chief military man of northeastern Mexico and one of the leading citizens, was deeply interested in the project, and the editor of the New Orleans *Picayune* stated positively that Arista, though officially he stood for the government, exerted himself privately to carry some such plan into effect. Indeed Sam Houston, the president of Texas, entertained seriously the idea of acquiring the discontented provinces. "This he could have done", wrote A. J. Donelson, the American representative in Texas at the time.<sup>6</sup>

Attraction toward the United States also was felt. The plan of 1832 contemplated American protection as a possibility, and that idea persisted. One A. J. Yates, who visited Monclova in 1835, discovered that a strong feeling of admiration for our institutions and citizens was entertained by almost all the intelligent people of that section. Not only the reports of Texans and a few American visitors or settlers, but the finer influence of Presbyterian missionaries, helped to give favorable impressions regarding us. No doubt respect and admiration were qualified with strains of jealousy and fear, yet they were genuine sentiments; and the abiding thought of perhaps obtaining substantial aid from us reinforced them. Many in the northern provinces, wrote our minister, John Slidell, in December, 1845, admired our national character and institutions, and would gladly have placed themselves under our protection. Early in 1846 Delphy Carlin informed President Polk that he had travelled as a

<sup>6</sup> Montiel to Parrodi, as in note 5; *Món. Repub.* as in note 5; (16,500) *Galveston Civilian*, August 31, 1844; Mora, as in note 3; G. Meade, *Life and Letters of G. G. Meade* (1913), I. 61; Smith, *Annexation*, pp. 36, 47, 99-100; *id.*, *War*, I. 82, 149, 226; Bancroft, *loc. cit.*; Yoakum, *loc. cit.* In 1839 Texan volunteers joined the Mexicans, but the Texan government was then hoping to gain Mexican recognition and would not act.

trader more than thirty thousand miles in northern Mexico, and believed that most of the people had the true American spirit.<sup>7</sup>

The approach of war between the two countries had a crystallizing effect on all the political thinking of the people. Arista was believed to be at work, and others undoubtedly were. While General Taylor's army lay at Corpus Christi, Texas, in the autumn of 1845, Mexicans furnished it supplies, and received liberal compensation in money and good treatment. A confidential agent sent by Taylor to Matamoros in September, 1845, reported that, should war be declared, Tamaulipas, Coahuila, and Nuevo León would probably pronounce for independence, and establish friendly relations with us. That same month an article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* said that northern Mexico was looking hopefully to the United States. A little later our consul at Vera Cruz expressed the opinion that, should a conflict begin, the people of that section would "cast off their moorings and ask protection from the United States". Some of the plotting Mexicans believed that an outbreak of hostilities would favor their plans, while others feared that by drawing national troops to the frontier it would impede them; and still others proposed to act without waiting for an actual breach of the peace.<sup>8</sup>

During the first week of February, 1846, an officer of Canales named José M. J. Carvajal—who had been educated in the United States and was regarded as above the average of his fellow-citizens in character and intelligence—visited Taylor at Corpus Christi, and presented as credentials a letter from Canales to the American general. This, besides accrediting the agent, announced an intention "to destroy the degenerate and immoral Army so long the scourge of the Nation . . . and establish a constitution based upon the just rights of man", or—should this be impossible, as Canales almost certainly knew it would—to secede; and it invited the United States to obtain an adjustment of our difficulties with Mexico by co-operating in this plan, rather than alarm all Mexicans and deluge the earth with blood by pursuing a violent policy.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Montiel to Parrodi, as in note 5; Yates to Marcy, as in note 3; Mejia, July 19, 1846, Guerra arch.; *Annual Report*, Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, 1841, p. 8; 1842, p. 10; Smith, *War*, I. 102; Slidell, no. 3, December 17, 1845, State Dept.; Carlin, March 3, 1846, War Dept.

<sup>8</sup> Meade, G. G. Meade, I. 61; W. S. Parrott, October 4, 1845, State Dept.; (agent) *House Ex. Doc. 60*, 30 Cong., 1 sess., p. 105; *Revue des Deux Mondes*, December 15, 1845, p. 1027; Consul Dimond, as in note 4; W. J. Worth to Taylor, April 16, 1846, War Dept.; Mejia, July 9, 1846 (*res.*), Guerra arch.; New Orleans *Picayune*, August 11, 1846 [Kendall]; W. S. Henry, *Campaign Sketches* (1847), p. 49.

<sup>9</sup> *Picayune*, *loc. cit.*; Canales to Taylor, January 29, 1846, War Dept.; Carvajal to Taylor, February 6, 1846, *ibid.*

At the request of General Taylor Carvajal submitted a written memorandum. I have full power from Canales, he wrote, "to enter into any Provisional Agreement with General Taylor, or the United States if they think proper, with a view to prevent in the future the possibility of an interruption of the friendly relations that have hitherto happily existed between the two countries", so that, should the Mexican army attack the American army, its acts may not be considered those of the people or nation. To this end, he continued, the United States must aid us to arm and support, say, three thousand men, and even loan us, perhaps, one or two thousand volunteers, until the forces of Paredes, the usurping president of Mexico, are put down; in return for which Canales will do all in his power to support the American claims regarding Texas, and will repay all advances by custom-house arrangements or an adjustment of the boundary. At the same time Carvajal urged Taylor not to advance from Corpus Christi, arguing that the two peoples ought not to come into contact until the Mexicans of that region should become better acquainted with American laws and government.<sup>10</sup>

In his usual non-committal way, offering no opinion as to the character and position of Canales, Taylor forwarded these documents to Washington; and on March 2, 1846, William L. Marcy, the secretary of war, replied. "In case of war between this country and Mexico", he wrote, "we should be ready to avail ourselves of all the advantages which could be fairly derived from Mexicans disaffected to their rulers—and considering the manner in which these rulers have risen to power, it would not be a matter of surprise if this disaffection should be extensive and of a character to embarrass the Mexican Government in carrying on hostilities with the United States", but the administration is not authorized to provide arms or money for Mexicans wishing to resist Paredes.<sup>11</sup>

Meanwhile, probably relying on the strength of his arguments, Canales proceeded with his plans for a new republic. February 25 or March 1, 1846, seems to have been the date fixed for the declaration of independence, and both a proclamation and an exposition (*acta*) were drawn up. Indeed the first, at least, of these documents seems to have been printed. But General Francisco Mejía, now in command at Matamoros, learned of Carvajal's visit at Corpus Christi, and to save himself Canales, whose ruffianly character was

<sup>10</sup> Taylor, February 7, 1846, War Dept.; Carvajal to Taylor, February 6, 1846, *ibid.*; *id.*, memorandum, February 6, 1846, *ibid.*; Mejía, as in note 8; E. A. Hitchcock, Diary, March 26, 1846, Library of Congress; *Picayune, loc. cit.*

<sup>11</sup> Taylor, as in note 10; Military Book, XXVI. 195, War Dept.

brightened with a sort of animal cunning, alleged that his agent, really sent to play the part of a spy, had endeavored to act and speak in such a way as to draw from Taylor information regarding his plans. We are most anxious to hear something definite from the United States, Carvajal notified the American general, and for the present must "wear a mask".<sup>12</sup>

Then came the military operations of the Rio Grande campaign, including the battles of Palo Alto and the Resaca de la Palma, in which Canales had to march—but avoided fighting—under the banner of Mexico; and on May 18 General Taylor's troops, practically all of them regulars, occupied Matamoros. The clash of arms then ceased. Quiet soon returned. The field was open for diplomacy; and there seemed to be a fairer chance than ever to get the Republic of Rio Grande started, for the plotters believed they would have nothing to fear, should the Mexican army be destroyed, and the battles of May 8 and 9 led them to hope for such a result.<sup>13</sup>

On the first day of June, 1846, a newspaper called *República de Rio Grande y Amigo del Pueblo* and printed in both Spanish and English, appeared at Matamoros, and exhorted the citizens of Tamaulipas, Coahuila, Nuevo León, and Chihuahua to

Abandon the Mexican vulture, that preys upon your vitals—the fitting symbol of a government, that has no deeper commiseration for your sufferings, than the voracious bird upon her crest feels for the serpent that writhes in his beak; assemble your delegates within the American lines, organize your provisional government at once, and declare your independence to the Sierra Madre;

for otherwise, although the United States does not wish to make conquests, she will have to annex this territory in order to obtain a defensible boundary. "*Rise then and shout for the Republic of Rio Grande!*" The second issue of the paper dwelt upon the oppressive Mexican tariff, which multiplied the prices of manufactured articles, the advantage of enjoying a free market in the United States for all productions, and the desirability of an escape from smuggling and

<sup>12</sup> José de Alva, ed. of *Corpus Christi Gazette*, to Taylor, March 11, 1846, War Dept.; Carvajal to Taylor, March 4, 1846, *ibid.*; Mejía, February 4, 24, July 9, 1846, Guerra arch.; Alva to U. S. Consul Schatzel at Matamoros, February 17, 1846 (intercepted), papers of Mariano Paredes y Arrillaga; Mejía to Garza y Flores, February 28, 1846, *ibid.* According to a Mexican spy in Taylor's camp, Carvajal visited Taylor on March 24 or 25 also, bringing letters from Arista and Canales.

<sup>13</sup> Smith, *War*, I. 166, 174, 178; Mesa to Taylor, with Taylor's no. 79, August 26, 1846, War Dept.

perjury; and on June 24 the Matamoros *Diana* printed an unsigned address of the same tenor as these editorials.<sup>14</sup>

The people seemed ready to act. The militia regiments of the important places on or near the Río Grande would not join the Mexican army. June 13 a number of *alcaldes* met at Azúcar, and with a cautious regard for appearances agreed that Coahuila, Tamaulipas, and Nuevo León should take united action for the defense of their interests without reference to the central government—a step justly described by Mejía as “the preliminary of revolution”. At almost the same time, with a view to revolt, the partizans of independence at Tampico made a movement intended to bring the American blockaders to their aid. Canales assumed a threatening tone. The city of Reynosa opened a correspondence with Taylor. Camargo, it was reported, issued a *pronunciamiento*. Letters from Monterey to Canales indicated the existence of a strong sentiment for independence there. The governor of Nuevo León was denounced as a traitor by loyal supporters of the national government, and the governor of Tamaulipas was at least intimidated. July 5 trouble began at Victoria, the capital of the latter state, and although it lasted openly but a week, it then merely subsided. Two days later the assembly of Zacatecas took an official step resembling the action of the conclave at Azúcar. Unless you send adequate forces and come promptly in person, wrote Mejía to President Paredes, these departments will be lost. “A new Star is shining out amid the ragged clouds of war”—the Republic of Río Grande, announced a correspondent of the New York *Sun*.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> *La República de Río Grande*, etc., was edited by H. McLeod and published by I. N. Fleeson. *Amigo del Pueblo* means “Friend of the People”. A copy of the first issue may be found with Bankhead’s no. 89, June 29, 1846, F.O. The editor stated that no schools were maintained, and that in consequence of misgovernment the annual mineral production of these states had fallen from \$28,000,000, to less than \$800,000. No. 2 and *La Diana* may be found in the archives of Tampico. *Diana* means “Reveille”. A later number of *La República* complained that Mexicans were driven to battle like felons to punishment.

<sup>15</sup> [Poinsett] in *De Bow’s Review*, July, 1846; Mejía, June 20 (“They will call the new nation *La República de Río Grande*”), July 9 (*res.*), 19, 1846, Guerra arch.; *Mon. Repub.*, June 30, 1846; Martín Garza, undated, with Mejía’s July 9; J. N. Seguín to Mejía, July 2, 1846, Guerra arch.; Soto to Mejía, July 4, 1846, *ibid.*; *Acta* of the Azúcar meeting, *ibid.*; comandante general of Tamaulipas, July 22, 1846, *ibid.*; Manuel Leal to Mejía, July 7, 1846, *ibid.*; Canales to Mejía, June 16, 1846, *ibid.*; Matamoros *Diana*, June 24, 1846 (see note 13); gov. of Tamaulipas to Paredes, June 30, 1846, Paredes papers; Mejía to Paredes, July 20, 1846, *ibid.*; Parrodi, Tampico, to Paredes, June 10, 1846, *ibid.*; Zacatecas assembly, as in note 3; (*Sun*) *Southern Advocate*, Huntsville, Ala., July 17, 1846; *House Ex. Doc.* 60, 30 Cong., 1 sess., p. 337.

Among our own people, so far as they knew what was taking place, there existed much sentiment in favor of American co-operation. Some were disposed on general principles to hail the birth of another republic—especially one that represented emancipation from oppression; and some felt, like T. S. Jesup, the quartermaster-general, that it would facilitate our military operations and reduce our expenses to have semi-independent governments organized successively, as our arms advanced. On the other hand it was pointed out that, if we intended—as we did—to let Mexican nationality survive, it was desirable for both commercial and political reasons that she should prosper, and a group of petty, quarreling commonwealths would be, not only hard to deal with, but poor and weak. Whether Polk and his cabinet maturely weighed and balanced such opinions cannot be stated; but at all events Taylor was instructed on July 9 to encourage departments wishing to become neutral or independent in alliance with us, and to promise protection during the war, so far as giving it would not interfere with his military operations. In the reasonable opinion of the Mexican leaders this was not sufficient. They had to reflect where they would stand on the conclusion of peace, and they felt that our government failed to take them seriously enough. Consequently their ardor was chilled.<sup>16</sup>

These considerations, of course, were not made public except as their influence became felt, but others had an open effect on both leaders and people. Against the argument that annexation to the United States would put an end to the oppressive tariff was placed the axiom that government, and therefore taxes, would still be necessary. The superiority of our institutions and the prosperity of our citizens were admitted, but these very facts alarmed the thoughtful. They tell you prices would be lower, argued one official, but do not tell you that you would soon be unable to pay even those prices, for your arts and industries could not compete with theirs. In Louisiana and Texas the Mexicans had been so humiliated and trampled upon by the masterful Americans, it was asserted, that flight had been their only resource. "Make no mistake", exclaimed a loyalist, "Foreigners in your own country, you would have to hide your shame elsewhere". Religious antagonism and racial sentiment

<sup>16</sup> (*Sun*) as in note 15; Mrs. J. M. Storms, July 23, 1846, George Bancroft papers; *Picayune*, *loc. cit.*; (Jesup) Albert Gallatin, *War Expenses* (1848); N. Y. *Herald*, July 11, 1846; *House Ex. Doc.* 60, 30 Cong., 1 sess., p. 333; Bancroft to Conner, July 7, 1846 (confd.), Navy Dept.; *De Bow's Review*, *loc. cit.*; Mesa to Taylor, undated, with Taylor's no. 79, August 26, 1846, War Dept.; N. Y. *Sun*, May 24, 1847.

played their parts. We suffer, urged some, but that is better than to be saved by alien rule. Of course independence did not mean alien rule; but, demanded a high official, "Where is our population, who are our statesmen, what is our power, to maintain the rank of an independent people?" Secession would therefore signify an American protectorate, and that would be likely, not a few believed, to end in absorption and extinction.<sup>17</sup>

Nor were such the only objections. No miracles announced the birth of Messiah Taylor, *El Aguila del Norte* had remarked some time since, and the facts appeared to justify it. Taylor had now been on the ground a long while, and no American army lay yet between these provinces and Mexico City. Perhaps they were needed instead of loved. Perhaps the game was not to save, but to use them, as Cortez had used the Tlaxcalans, hinted *La Gaceta* of Victoria. "It is impossible", protested *La Esperanza* of Tampico, "that a sensible man would at the invitation of his enemies declare himself the enemy of his brethren for the benefit of the former"; and soon the managers of *República de Río Grande y Amigo del Pueblo*, finding their transparent disguise ineffective, changed the name of their paper to *The American Flag*. The worst grievance of the northern states had been the destruction of the federal system, and on August 4, 1846, a revolution aiming to restore that régime was launched successfully at the capital. This fact had a powerful influence.<sup>18</sup>

But nothing else produced so deep an effect on the sentiment regarding American protection and rule as events that occurred about this time at Matamoros. In June and July, 1846, large numbers of undisciplined volunteers, enlisted for the war, joined our army. Mostly they were not bad men, but many of them were now off their balance. In their minds the one duty was to fight, and Mexicans were the enemy. In too frequent instances no rules of conduct, human or divine, existed any longer except the law of courage. They had left the civil virtues behind, and had not yet been taught the military virtues; and they had lost in bodies the sense of

<sup>17</sup> *Diario*, Mexico, July 17, September 9, 1846; *National Intelligencer*, September 10, 1846; *Niles' Register*, September 26, 1846, p. 58; November 21, p. 180; gov. of Nuevo León, proclamation, June 18, 1846, Gobernación arch.; J. F. Ramírez, *México durante su Guerra con los Estados Unidos* (1905), p. 225; Mesa to Taylor, September 30, 1846, War Dept.; J. M. García, San Fernando, to Parrodi, June 20, 1846, Guerra arch.

<sup>18</sup> *El Aguila del Norte*, March 4, 1846; *La Esperanza*, July 30, 1846; *La Gaceta de Ciudad Victoria*, July 19, 1846; *London Times*, August 13, 1846; *División del Norte* (news), July 8, 1846, Guerra arch.; Mesa to Taylor, September 30, 1846, War Dept.; (revolution) Smith, *War*, I. 217.



personal responsibility. "They have destroyed the property, insulted the women, and maltreated the men of the country", said an American officer, "and converted Matamoros into a theatre of drunkenness and brawls". "They rob and steal the cattle and corn of the poor farmers, and in fact act more like a body of hostile Indians than of civilized whites", wrote George G. Meade; and they "inspired the Mexicans with a perfect horror of them".<sup>19</sup>

Of course the Mexican loyalists delighted in spreading the reports of such conduct, and based fresh arguments upon them. "People near Matamoros, previously inclined to favor the Americans", proclaimed the comandante general of Nuevo León, "have written these weighty words: 'The domination of the Grand Turk is kinder than that of the Americans. Their motto is deceit. Their love is like the robber's. Their goodness is usurpation; and their boasted liberty is the grossest despotism, iniquity and insolence, disguised under the most consummate hypocrisy.'" The influence of such facts and such arguments upon the people of all degrees was extremely unfortunate. The idea of annexation to the United States or accepting an American protectorate appeared no longer to possess any practical value.<sup>20</sup>

The longing to escape from Mexican rule, however, and the plan of declaring independence with American support continued to exist; and the leaders were stimulated about the end of August, 1846, by news that all the authorities of the region were to be changed. This, when accomplished, was sure to weaken the cause, and in the meantime was equally sure to excite the people; and for both reasons immediate action seemed in order. Besides, instructions were issued to place Arista, Canales, and others under arrest; and General Pedro de Ampudia, who took command in the northeast at this time, inaugurated a vigorous and harsh campaign against disloyalty. Dr. Hilario de Mesa, another of the leading conspirators, therefore visited Taylor at Camargo, and submitted a new programme. This contemplated a union of Tamaulipas, Coahuila, Nuevo León, Chihuahua, and San Luis Potosí as the "República de Río Grande", or, should such a plan seem at this time too large, a declaration of Tamaulipas for neutrality. The outrages perpetrated at Matamoros, he admitted, had chilled sympathy with the Americans; his fellow-

<sup>19</sup> Smith, *War*, II. 211-213; *Nat. Intelligencer*, September 10, 1846; Meade, *G. G. Meade*, I. 108-110, 147; *House Ex. Doc. 60*, 30 Cong., 1 sess., p. 336.

<sup>20</sup> *Diario*, August 8, 1846; Smith, *War*, II. 211, 216. *Niles' Reg.*, November 21, 1846, p. 180; comandante gen., Nuevo León, August 12, 1846, Guerra arch.; Mesa to Taylor, undated, with Taylor's no. 79, August 26, 1846, War Dept.

citizens were determined to remain Mexicans; and only secret aid from this country was desired. A loan for the purchase of arms, however, and a pledge of military protection both during and after the war he earnestly solicited.<sup>21</sup>

But the general could promise neither. "I cannot but take the liveliest interest in any attempts of the Northern States", he replied, "to throw off the yoke of the central government which has so long borne heavily upon them. So long as the state of war shall subsist between that government and my own, I will take pleasure in extending the protection of the American Army to any such movement, and my instructions from the United States government warrant me in so doing. But I am not, at this time, authorized to give any assurance that such protection would extend beyond the conclusion of a treaty of peace", though some such provision would naturally be included in that instrument. After a deeper penetration into the country, more would be possible, he intimated; but in view of the actual situation he advised against declaring independence before its partisans felt strong enough to maintain it. His letter was faint encouragement, he admitted; and he expected that nothing would be done.<sup>22</sup>

Zachary Taylor was by no means a sentimentalist or enthusiast. Shrewd common-sense was the usual basis of his thinking; and, besides, he felt but the smallest confidence in Mexicans of any stripe. His manner was no doubt even cooler than the language quoted above, and in all probability Mesa and Carvajal regarded him as personally an obstacle. But they knew there were other American officers, and, as even Ampudia realized, the yearning for independence lay deep in the hearts of the people. Taylor's attitude, therefore, did not entirely discourage them. In September, 1846, they laid the matter before General James Shields, an ardent Irish volunteer officer then at a camp near Matamoros. Apparently Shields considered it a new proposition, and took it up with zeal. September 18 his aide was busily copying despatches to Polk and members of the cabinet, which "embodied a proposal made by a number of distinguished and leading Mexicans" for the secession of "the three Oriental provinces"; and these were to be sent off at once by an express. But suddenly Shields received orders to join General John E. Wool, then at San Antonio, Texas, preparing for a march to

<sup>21</sup> Taylor to adjutant-general, no. 79, as in note 20; Mesa to Taylor, undated, *ibid.*; Taylor to Mesa, August 25, 1846, War Dept.; Mesa, plan, with Taylor's no. 79, *ibid.*; Smith, *War*, I. 234; Secretaría de Guerra to Ampudia, August 28, 1846, Guerra arch.; Ampudia, September 9, 1846, *ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> Taylor to adjutant-general and to Mesa, as in note 21.

Chihuahua. This nipped in the bud his ingenuous enterprise, as the aide regretfully said, and the carefully drawn despatches were laid aside.<sup>23</sup>

However, their fruitless but cordial experience with him probably emboldened the Mexican leaders, and in November, 1846, Mesa appeared at Washington, bearing a letter of introduction from John Slidell to Buchanan, the secretary of state, and papers showing his character, influence, and representative standing in Tamaulipas. On the twenty-third he addressed a letter to Polk, stating that the northern provinces would revolt, if the United States would grant them protection during the war and refrain from annexing them. Buchanan drafted a reply, and in substance offered these guaranties. Polk, however, would not concur. "Though I did not at this time contemplate such annexation, I desired to keep this an open question", he recorded in his diary; and he suspected that the Secretary of State (wishing to satisfy the northern opposition to any enlargement of the slave area) was trying to commit him on that issue. He therefore proposed to have Mesa courteously informed that, as he brought no credentials, no answer to his proposition would be made. Both the President and the Secretary of State suggested that the other should talk with the envoy, but neither of them felt willing to do so; and finally it was decided that Nicholas P. Trist, chief clerk of the State Department, should make verbally such a reply as Polk had outlined. About five weeks afterwards Buchanan expressed his wish to hold California and New Mexico but encourage and aid the other northern provinces of Mexico to establish an independent government, and the rest of the cabinet appeared to agree with him; but Polk said nothing on this point and the matter was dropped. Two days later Marcy informed Taylor that some hope was still entertained that northern Mexico would set up a new republic. All proper assistance was to be given a movement of that kind, the general was instructed, but no pledge to guarantee in the treaty of peace the existence of such a state.<sup>24</sup>

By this time, although the old cordiality toward the Americans had not recovered from the chill caused by the early excesses of our volunteers, their later good behavior under the severe discipline of

<sup>23</sup> Smith, *War*, I. 267, 270, 504, 509; Ampudia, as in note 21; undated paper sent by F. de Garay, Guerra arch.; Davis, *Autobiography*, p. 99.

<sup>24</sup> G. T. Curtis, *Life of James Buchanan* (1883), I. 601-602; Polk, *Diary*, November 28, 1846, January 2, 1847; J. T. Taylor to Winfield Scott, February 12, 1847, Library of Congress; N. Y. *Journal of Commerce*, December 9, 1846; *House Ex. Doc. 60*, 30 Cong., 1 sess., p. 391. It will be noted that Polk exhibited no eagerness to get hold of what many considered possible slave territory.

Scott and other generals had been recognized. At the end of February, 1847, Santa Anna made his grand stroke in the Buena Vista campaign and failed. Soon the authorities were indifferent and the people apathetic, if nothing worse, toward Mexico. Mesa still felt anxious to set a movement going. In April a *junta* met at Cadereita, and it was proposed that Nuevo León should declare itself independent for a limited time and observe the developments; and at about the same date the *ayuntamiento* (city council) of Linares addressed the other *ayuntamientos* of the state with a similar end in view. But the people now felt much depressed. They had witnessed large military operations, and had been made to realize their insignificance and helplessness; and incomes, both public and private, had suffered grievously from war conditions. There was neither money nor spirit for bold and venturesome enterprises; and suspicions regarding the intentions of the invaders were still urged against taking any step under American protection. So the movement evaporated.<sup>25</sup>

Mesa had left Washington with a due sense of Polk's cautious disposition, and understood quite distinctly that he and his associates did not possess the confidence of the American government; but he found in the President's annual message of December 7, 1847, a remark that "civil as well as military officers" would be needed in Mexico. He therefore offered at the end of that month to serve the United States in the former capacity, either as president of a new republic or as a high official of this country. He would then be able, he suggested, to remove the existing prejudices against us, eliminate loyalist Mexican authorities, point out what citizens could afford to pay military contributions, and facilitate the annexation of the region, should such be Polk's wish. Fundamentally, of course, his professed aim was to benefit his unfortunate fellow-countrymen. Canales, the governor of Tamaulipas, and other advocates of independence, overawed by Santa Anna, had for some time laid aside that policy, but, as he was now out of power, were bestirring themselves again in the old cause, added Mesa. Nothing, however, resulted from this throw, and the war soon ended.<sup>26</sup>

Yet even the treaty of peace did not extinguish the cherished

<sup>25</sup> Smith, *War*, vol. I., chs. XIX., XX.; II. 213, 215, 220. Mora, April 19, 28, May 5, 1847, Guerra arch.; *El Eco*, Tampico, November 7, 1846; Mesa to Taylor, February 2, 1847, War Dept.; José Urrea to Mora, April 21, 1847, Guerra arch.; Mesa to Taylor, December 24, 1847, N. P. Trist papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>26</sup> J. D. Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, IV. 542; Mesa to Taylor and to N. P. Trist, December 24, 1847, Trist papers; *id.* to Taylor, December 30, 1847, *ibid.*; *Picayune*, August 11, 1846.

project. Tampico, the chief city of Tamaulipas, had often been restive or rebellious under the central government, and its commercial relations with New Orleans had created and fostered pro-American sentiments there. With these feelings the inland towns sympathized, and the state in general had got on quite comfortably with the invaders. It was therefore proposed, early in 1848, to declare Tamaulipas independent, and to draw Coahuila and Nuevo León, at least, into the plan. Canales and Mesa were actively for the scheme, and it was to be made effective with the assistance of American ex-officers and ex-soldiers. Indeed, General Shields and Colonel L. G. De Russy of Louisiana were talked of as the chief military leaders. For months the project—which seems to have contemplated eventual annexation to the United States, yet was supported by the *alcalde*, the priest, and the press—quietly simmered; but in the night of September 29–30, 1848, an insurrection, supposed to grow out of it, expelled the Mexican troops from Tampico. Nothing else of importance was accomplished, but the British consul in that city believed that only a lack of funds caused its collapse.<sup>27</sup>

In certain respects, then, the movement for independence in northeastern Mexico had the promise of success. The central government had provided sufficient grounds for rebellion; the sentiment of the people favored the idea; the example of Texas was inspiring; the prosperity and probable sympathy of the United States afforded encouragement; and eventually the presence of our troops appeared to offer a large measure of assurance. But there was a lack of qualified and trustworthy leaders. Arista's chief hope seems to have been a union with Texas, which was in fact the most sensible plan; when we annexed that republic, he lost heart; and after he failed so conspicuously in the battles of Palo Alto and the Resaca, he lacked confidence and prestige. Canales was only a border ruffian of unusual energy and cunning. Carvajal could merely have been a lieutenant; and Mesa was only a schemer. The people were in general quiet, uneducated, and unenterprising, far better able to long and plot for an improvement in their condition than to work and strike for it; the long series of fruitless Mexican revolutions had left at the bottom of almost every heart a paralyzing scepticism;

<sup>27</sup> Smith, *War*, I. 102; II. 166, 214; *id.*, *Annexation*, p. 46; Secretaria de Relaciones to gov. of Vera Cruz, October 2, 1848 (*res.*), Vera Cruz state arch.; jefe of Tampico de Vera Cruz to gov. of Vera Cruz, August 30 (*res.*), October 5, 1848, *ibid.*; gov. of Vera Cruz to jefe of Tampico de Vera Cruz, October 9, 1848, *ibid.*; *id.* to jefe of Papantla, November 30, 1848, *ibid.*; Canales to Wool, January 30, 1848, War Dept.; Taylor to Jefferson Davis, February 16, 1848, in private hands; Consul J. W. Glass, July 8, 1848, F.O.

and resources of all kinds were lacking. Finally, there were natural prejudices against the United States; the policy of our government was cool and prudent; and the conduct of many Americans on the ground excited bitter resentment. What actually occurred answered perfectly to these conditions. "La República de Río Grande" was an interesting idea but not a practical possibility.<sup>28</sup>

JUSTIN H. SMITH.

<sup>28</sup> (Arista) *Picayune*, August 11, 1846; Smith, *War*, I, 177-178; (Canales) Smith, *War*, I, 158; (people) Mora, April 23, 1846, Guerra arch.; Mejía, July 19, 1846, *ibid.*; (scepticism) Canales to Wool, as in note 27; Smith, *War*, II, 81; (resources) Urrea to Mora, April 21, 1848, Guerra arch.

## NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

### AN UNRECOGNIZED FATHER MARQUETTE LETTER

THE Latin letter printed below is from the Duke of Portland's manuscripts at Welbeck Abbey and was printed in translation in 1893 by the Historical Manuscripts Commission.<sup>1</sup> The present transcript has been made by the librarian at Welbeck Abbey, who writes: "The document is in a perfectly clear handwriting. The endorsement is in another hand which is also clear."<sup>2</sup> There is, therefore, no doubt about the reading of the letter, the signature, of which a tracing was made, being unmistakable.

In cujuscunque manus hae literae venerint  
Salutem in Domino

Cum miserâ obedientia nullus fuerim, quae rebam alios qualescunque ad Christum Salvatorem nostrum adducere, forte accedit quod, ut captus ex Spiritualium impetu, hos barbaros quorum familiarem esse credo cum Europaeis consuetudinem, offenderem: Verum cum ab ipsis nihil intelligerem, gratissimum mihi fuerit, si qui sitis, quae urbis vestrae latitudo, et longitudo, qui sint hi barbari, me feceritis certiozem; Interim hoc a me accipite, ad Societatem Jesu vocavit me Dominus, vultque ut in Canadensi regione propter barbaros (quos sanguinè suo redemit) vitam peragam, unde certum est mihi, si immaculata virgo, Dei mater, mihi adfuerit in hisce locis, licet miserimis, vitae spiritum reddere, cum pro nobis Xtus tanta tulerit tormenta, non sane voluit ut ei quam nobis conservat parceremus, qua dum fruimur, Deum Oremus ut (si nunquam in terris) in coelo nos conjungat.

Dat. ad Fluvium Convectionis ad	Servus in christo jesu et immacu-
altitudinem Poli 35 <sup>d</sup>	lata Virgine
ad Longitud. forte 275 <sup>d</sup>	JACOBUS MACPUT, Societ. jesu
4th August 1675.	

[Endorsed:]

Copy of latin letter receiv'd by Coll. Bird in Virginia in the winter 1675 from a Jesuit dated 4th August 1675 in latitude 35 degr. longitude 275 abo<sup>t</sup> 1200 mile West 2 degr. Southw<sup>ds</sup> from Virginia.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Thirteenth Report*, app., pt. II., p. 36. My attention was first called to this letter by my colleague, Dr. Theodore C. Pease.

<sup>2</sup> Richard W. Goulding to B. F. Stevens and Brown, Welbeck Abbey, February 15, 1920. He adds: "Whoever may have added it [the endorsement] paid no attention to the word *forte* which appears after *Longitud.* in the text".

<sup>3</sup> The translation as published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission is as follows, slightly corrected:

"JAMES MACPUT of the Society of Jesus to ——. 1675, August 4. 'Ad Fluvium Convectionis.'—I who by obedience am nobody, was trying to bring



In the following discussion it must be first kept in mind that we have here not the original but a copy made supposedly by "Colonel" William Byrd. There is nothing in either the form or the character of the letter to arouse a suspicion of forgery. Had some Virginian desired to excite the government by fear of French aggression to an energetic promotion of western discoveries, a more specific account of the explorations of the rivals would have been devised.

If the above is a copy of a genuine letter, who was the writer? The answer seems evident, provided a reasonable allowance is made for the errors committed by the first or some later transcriber. The name *Jacobus Macput* is easily read *Jacobus Marquette*, for nothing would be easier than to mistake the "rque" for the "cpu"; and there would be no doubt of the correction, were it not for the date, August 4, 1675; Marquette died on May 18 of that year.<sup>4</sup> In this case, however, the transcriber's error is intelligible to anyone who has attempted to determine whether a figure in a manuscript is a 3 or a 5. The correct date is undoubtedly August 4, 1673. The transcriber made also a mistake in the name of the place where the letter was written; it should be "*Ad Fluvium Conceptionis*" instead of "*Convectionis*". In passing it may be noticed that in August, 1673, Marquette was the only man in the world calling the Mississippi River by the name "*Conception*"; also significant is the reference in the letter to the "*immaculate Virgin*".

If these so reasonable emendations give to the letter a time and place that correspond to the movements of Marquette himself, there can be little doubt about the identity of the writer. In his famous

others to Christ our Saviour, and it chanced that being seized by the force of the Spirit I fell in with these barbarians who I believe are accustomed to have intercourse with Europeans. As however I can get no information from them, I should be most grateful if you, whoever you are, and whatever may be your latitude and longitude, would inform me what these barbarians are [more properly, "if you would inform me who you are, what the latitude and longitude of your town, and who these barbarians are"]. In the meantime, receive thus much from me. The Lord called me to the Society of Jesus, and it is his will that I should spend my life in the Canadian territory for the sake of these barbarians whom he redeemed with his blood. Wherefore I am certain that if the immaculate Virgin the mother of God were present to me in these wretched lands, she would not wish us [since Christ bore for us so great torments] to spare the breath of life which she [he] preserves for us. Which whilst we enjoy, let us pray God that if we may not meet on earth we may be joined in heaven. *Latin.*

"*Copy. Endorsed: 'Copy of a Latin letter received by Colonel Bird in Virginia in the winter 1675, from a Jesuit, dated 4th August 1675, in latitude 33 degrees, longitude 275. About 1200 miles west, two degrees south-west [southwards] from Virginia.'*"

<sup>4</sup> Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, LIX. 315, note 46.

voyage down the Mississippi with Louis Jolliet, Father Marquette reached latitude 33° 40' and on July 17, 1673, started from that point the return journey.<sup>5</sup> As did many travellers in succeeding years, Jolliet and his companion found that the ascent of the Mississippi was laborious. The period was summer, when the waters were confined to the river bed and therefore made the work of propulsion harder. Unfortunately Marquette's account of the voyage is sketchy and Jolliet's journal, which must have contained daily entries, has been lost, so that their progress cannot be followed; but taking into consideration the current, the sinuosity of the river, and the experience of other travellers, it is very probable that they were on August 4 at about the thirty-fifth parallel, where the letter was written. This point lies a few miles south of Memphis.

At this place on their voyage down they had visited a village of Indians strange to them. Marquette's narrative of the experience is as follows:

While drifting down with The current, in this condition, we perceived on land some savages armed with guns, who awaited us. I at once offered them my plumed calumet, while our frenchmen prepared for defense, but delayed firing, that The savages might be the first to discharge their guns. I spoke to them in huron, but they answered me by a word which seemed to me a declaration of war against us. However, they were as frightened as we were; and what we took for a signal for battle was an Invitation that they gave us to draw near, that they might give us food. We therefore landed, and entered their Cabins, where they offered us meat from wild cattle and bear's grease, with white plums, which are very good. They have guns, hatchets, hoes, Knives, beads, and flasks of double glass, in which they put Their powder. They wear Their hair long, and tattoo their bodies after the hiroquois fashion. The women wear head-dresses and garments like those of the huron women. They assured us that we were no more than ten days' journey from The sea; that they bought cloth and all other goods from the Europeans who lived to The east; that these Europeans had rosaries and pictures; that they played upon Instruments; that some of them looked Like me, and had been received by these savages kindly. Nevertheless, I saw none who seemed to have received any instruction in the faith; I gave Them as much as I could, with some medals.<sup>6</sup>

The Quapaw gave the explorers some further information about these unknown: "They also told us", writes Marquette, "that the savages with guns whom we had met were Their Enemies who barred Their way to the sea, and prevented Them from becoming acquainted with the Europeans, and from carrying on any trade with them."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Marquette's journal, Thwaites, LIX. 159, 161.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, LIX. 147, 149.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, LIX. 155.

The identification of these Indians is made more complicated by the various maps that resulted from Jolliet's discovery of the Mississippi. Those derived from Marquette's account place at this site and at a position farther south a tribe called "Monsoupelia", which the *Handbook of American Indians* describes as "a problematic tribe first noted on Marquette's map".<sup>8</sup> Jolliet's map gives the situation of the tribe on the east bank south of the mouth of the Arkansas River. The scattered references of later date to this "problematic" tribe may have all been derived from this original source and need not be given much weight in the identification of the Indians met by the original explorers.

According to the account the Indians were occupying "cabins", their habitat extended along the eastern bank of the lower Mississippi, and they spoke a language unfamiliar to Father Marquette who knew six Indian languages, Algonquian and Iroquoian. Their habitat was thus identical with that of the Chickasaw, and if they did not belong to that tribe, they were undoubtedly members of some one of the Muskogean group.

When Father Marquette landed at a village of these same Indians on this return voyage, on August 4, 1673, he evidently gave into their hands this Latin letter in which he begs the white strangers to tell him "who these barbarians are", since he has been able to "learn nothing from them". His expectation was that the Indians would carry the letter to the Spaniards with whom they traded.

Unquestionably the Indians had bought their guns and other utensils from the Spaniards in Florida. That the letter did not reach that settlement but found its destination two and a half years later in the hands of William Byrd of Virginia is an interesting historical fact needing some explanation. In 1673, the year of Jolliet's success, Colonel Abraham Wood had through his agent, James Needham, extended his trading relations with the western Indians beyond the mountains, and Needham actually visited the Cherokee.<sup>9</sup> From that time the Virginia traders appear to have followed up this trade, except when prevented by war, either by sending pack trains to the westward or by selling to Indians who visited the settlements. It was probably from some western visitor that Byrd, a well-known Indian

<sup>8</sup> See Jolliet's map, *ibid.*, LIX. 87, and the maps derived from Marquette's information in Kellogg, "Marquette's Authentic Map possibly Identified", *Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, pp. 183 ff.; *Handbook of American Indians*, art. "Monsopelia".

<sup>9</sup> Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region by the Virginians, 1650-1674*, p. 79 ff.

trader, received this letter two years after the explorations of James Needham.

The endorsement, which is in a handwriting different from the body of the letter, was not made in 1675, for William Byrd was at that time only captain; he is called colonel for the first time in 1680.<sup>10</sup> A guess as to the manner of the entry of this letter into the manuscripts of the Duke of Portland may be hazarded. William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania, a diligent collector of information about western America, was correspondent of Robert Harley, a member of the family whose manuscripts are preserved at Welbeck Abbey. Colonel Byrd probably sent a copy to William Penn who passed it on to his correspondent.

CLARENCE WALWORTH ALVORD.

#### AMERICAN MIDDLE TEMPLARS

THE claim that "the Society of the Middle Temple took a leading part in the birth of the American nation"<sup>1</sup> through the number of members who were concerned in the settlement of Virginia has received general recognition. Toward the end of the seventeenth century began a reciprocal movement of young Americans returning to study at the Middle Temple. It has been estimated that "Probably from twenty-five to fifty American-born lawyers had been educated in England prior to 1760";<sup>2</sup> and it has been stated that 115 Americans were admitted to the Inns from 1760 to the close of the Revolution. Before the year 1760 the description of the parentage of seventy students upon the books of the Middle Temple shows that they had come across the seas. Although the Middle Templars formed the majority of those who entered at the Inns, the names of a few Americans may be found at the other Inns of Court. One hundred and fifty joined the Middle Temple and the stream of Americans reached its height in the middle of the eighteenth century. Of that period there is an admirable record in a volume known as *Master Worsley's Book*<sup>3</sup> prepared under the direction of the treasurer, "the principal and supream officer", of that name. The

<sup>10</sup> Bassett, *The Writings of Colonel William Byrd of Westover in Virginia Esqr.*, p. xix. Captain in 1677, *Journals of the House of Burgesses*, 1659-1693, p. 84.

<sup>1</sup> C. E. A. Bedwell, *Brief History of the Middle Temple*, pp. 32-50, where some of the evidence in support is collected.

<sup>2</sup> C. Warren, *History of the American Bar*, p. 188, referring to C. J. Stillé, *Life and Times of John Dickinson*.

<sup>3</sup> *Master Worsley's Book on the History and Constitution of the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple*, ed. A. R. Ingpen (London, 1910).

description of the internal management of the Inn may be supplemented by Sir William Blackstone's account of the course of study at the same period.<sup>4</sup> Although the American students may not have gained that kind of legal knowledge which is considered essential at the present day on both sides of the Atlantic as a training for the practice of the law, they acquired an understanding of men and of principles which were of inestimable value in their after lives. It is sufficient to glance down the following list of names to note how many afterwards attained positions of eminence in laying the foundations of constitutional government and sound administration of justice. It includes five signatories of the Declaration of Independence. There are the four representatives of South Carolina, Edward Rutledge, afterwards governor, Thomas Lynch, jr., Thomas Heyward, jr., afterwards a judge, and Arthur Middleton who declined the post of governor, and one of the Delaware representatives, Thomas McKean, afterwards chief justice and governor of Pennsylvania. An examination of two other important constitutional documents—the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution itself—signed by representatives of the states, furnishes an equally interesting result.

Joseph Reed was one of the representatives of Pennsylvania, who, when he signed the Articles of Confederation, had lately declined the chief-justiceship of his state and soon after became president of its supreme executive council. Thomas McKean had as one of his colleagues in the representation of Delaware John Dickinson, the "Pennsylvania Farmer", who afterward, as delegate from Pennsylvania, signed also the Constitution. John Banister, and John Mathews, afterward governor of South Carolina and chancellor of its court of equity, signed on behalf, respectively, of Virginia and South Carolina.

Among the Middle Temple signers of the Constitution was the senior representative of New Jersey and first governor of the state, William Livingston. They included also Jared Ingersoll, afterwards twice attorney general of Pennsylvania, and a Philadelphia judge, John Blair, who had been president of the court of appeals of Virginia and became a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and three out of four signatories on behalf of South Carolina. One was John Rutledge, eldest brother of Edward, who had been called to the bar at the Middle Temple in 1760. After a brilliant career as an advocate and statesman he had been governor, chancellor, and chief justice of his state, and was nominated by

<sup>4</sup> *Commentaries*, I. 31-32.

Washington to be second chief justice of the United States Supreme Court. The other two were Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, the most distinguished member of a family noted in the history of the state, who was afterwards United States minister to France, and Charles Pinckney, United States minister to Spain and four times governor of his state.

There is hardly a name in the list which might not be accompanied by a note of interest, but space precludes a further examination of it in detail. It may well be that one day a little volume may be compiled of Notable American Middle Templars, in which it would be necessary to include those Americans who in recent years, either *honoris causa* or as ordinary students, have become members of the Inn, including the late Mr. Joseph Choate and the present ambassador at the court of St. James.

The date at the beginning of each entry extracted from the records of the society is that of the young American's admission thereto; in case he was called to the bar the date of that vote is also given.

C. E. A. BEDWELL.<sup>5</sup>

- 1681 June 22. William Wharton, son and heir of Richard W. of Boston, New England, esq., called 14 May, 1686.
- 1692 Oct. 18. Benjamin Lynde, third son of Simon L. of Boston, New England, merchant, called 22 Nov., 1695.
- 1697 Oct. 18. Benjamin Harrison, son and heir of Benjamin H. of Virginia in America, merchant.
- 1705-6 Feb. 11. William Dudley, second son of Joseph D. of New England, America, esq.
- 1706 Nov. 7. Robert Livingstone, third son of Robert L. of New York, America, merchant.
- 1713 Apr. 30. John Carter, son and heir of Robert C. of Virginia, in America, esq., called 27 May, 1720.
- 1717 Nov. 26. Robert Johnston [afterwards took the name of Ketelbey] second son of Gideon J., S.T.D., Commissary of Carolina, decd, called 15 May, 1724.
- 1717-18 Jan. 24. James Trent, son and heir of William T. of Philadelphia, Pensilvania, merchant.
- 1719 May 13. Richard Lee, son and heir of Philip L. of the colony of Maryland, merchant.
- Nov. 5. Robert Beverly, only son of Harry B. of Urbanna [Urbanna], Virginia, esq.
- 1719-20 Mar. 15. Antony Palmer, second son of Antony P. of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, America, merchant, called 11 Feb., 1726.
- 1720 Aug. 24. William Allen, second son of William A. of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, merchant.
- 1721 June 23. Wilson Cary, son and heir of Miles C. of York River, in the county of Warwick, Virginia, gent., decd.

<sup>5</sup> [Keeper of the Middle Temple Library. Ed.]

- 1722 Sep. 8. Beverley Whiting, son and heir of Henry W. of the colony of Virginia, esq.  
 " 8. Henry Fitzhugh, only son of William F. of Stafford, colony of Virginia, esq., decd.
- 1725 May 12. Joseph Murray, of New York, America, esq., son of Thomas M. of Queen's County, Ireland, gent., decd.
- 1727 May 16. Christopher Robinson, son and heir of Christopher R. of Middlesex county in Virginia, esq., decd.
- 1729 Sep. 6. Andrew Hamilton, second son of Andrew H. of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, esq., called 24 Nov. 1732.
- 1729-30 Mar. 14. Jonathan Belcher, esq., second son of the Hon. John [Jonathan] B., Governor of New England [Massachusetts and New Hampshire] in America, called 24 May, 1734.
- 1731 May 3. John Chambers, son of — C. of New York, America, gent.
- 1732-3 Feb. 2. Joseph Jekyll, third son of John J. of New England, America, esq., decd., called 1 June, 1739.
- 1733 Jul. 5. George Carter, youngest son of Robert C. of Virginia in America, esq., called 4 Nov., 1738.  
 Nov. 27. Thomas Elde, only son of Thomas E. of New York, America, gent., decd.
- 1739 Oct. 13. Peyton Randolph, second son of John R. of Virginia, America, knight, called 10 Feb., 1744.
- 1741-2 Mar. 16. Daniel Dulany, son and heir of Daniel D. of Maryland, America, esq., called 13 June, 1746.
- 1742 Oct. 29. William Burnett, youngest son of William B., esq., decd., of New York, America, Governor.
- 1742 Oct. 29. William Livingstone, son of Colonel Philip L. of New York, America, esq.
- 1743 Oct. 27. Benjamin Chew, son and heir of Samuel C. of Pennsylvania, North America, esq.
- 1744 Nov. 2. Edward Shippen, only son of Edward S. of Philadelphia, America, merchant, called 9 Feb., 1750.
- 1744 Dec. 15. Thomas Bordley, fourth son of Thomas B. of Maryland, America, esq., decd.
- 1745 Apr. 8. John Randolph, third son of John R. of the island of Virginia, America, knight, decd., called 9 Feb., 1750.
- 1746 Apr. 22. Thomas Child, esq., Attorney General to H.M. King George II. in North Carolina, America, youngest son of Richard C. of Lavenham, Suffolk, doctor of medicine, called 30 May, 1746.

Minute of Parliament,<sup>6</sup> 30 May, 1746.

Thomas Child Esquire admitted of this Society the 22nd of April last was propos'd to their Masterships the last Parliament in Easter Term by Sir John Strange for the calling him to the Barr at this Parliament, he being appointed Attorney General of North Carolina. Whereupon his Majesties command under his Royal Sign Manual to the Governour of the said Province was read bearing date the twenty eighth day of February one thousand seven hundred and forty five six, constituting and appointing the said Thomas Child his

<sup>6</sup> Meetings of the benchers, the governing body of the Middle Temple, were called parliaments.



- Attorney General of his Province of North Carolina in America which being taken into consideration by their Masterships and that Mr. Childs residence and practice would be abroad. It is ordered that the said Mr. Child be called to the Degree of the Utter Barr.
- 1746-7 Jan. 6. William Byrd, son and heir of William B. of Virginia Island, America, esq., decd.
- 1750 June 29. Phileman Hemsley, son and heir of William H. of Queen Anne's County, Maryland, esq., decd.
- Oct. 6. William Drayton, eldest son of Thomas D. of South Carolina, esq., called 13 June, 1755.
- 1750 Oct. 9. Henry Churchill, third son of Armstead C. of Virginia, America, esq., called 24 May, 1754.
- 1750-51 Feb. 11. William Franklin, son and heir of Benjamin F. of Philadelphia, America, called 10 Nov., 1758.
- 1751 May 2. Joseph Jones, son and heir of James J. of Virginia, gent., decd., called 21 June, 1751.
- Aug. 14. Thomson Mason, third son of George M. of Virginia in America, esq., called 22 Nov., 1754.
- Oct. 19. Charles Carroll, eldest son of Charles C. of Anapolis, Maryland, America, M.D., called 22 Nov., 1754.
- 1752 Dec. 2. Ryland Randolph, third son of Richard R. of Virginia, America, esq.
- " 2. Robert Goldsborough, eldest son of Charles G. of Dorset, Maryland, esq., called 8 Feb., 1757.
- 1753 Jan. 2. John Wilcox, eldest son of John W. of Urbanna, Middlesex, in Virginia, gent.
- Feb. 17. John Hammond, second son of Philip H. of Severnhead, Anne Arundel, Maryland, America, esq., called 9 Feb., 1760.
- May 25. David Graeme, of South Carolina, second son of William G., M.D.
- June 2. John Blair, eldest son of John B. of York, Virginia, America, esq., called 20 May, 1757.
- " 18. William Hicks, eldest son of Edward H. of Philadelphia, America, esq.
- July 9. James Michie, eldest son of John M. of South Carolina, esq.
- 1753 Sep. 27. John Banister, eldest son of John B. of Dinwiddie, Virginia, America, esq.
- Nov. 6. Robert Mackenzie, only son of Kenneth M. of Surrey, Virginia, America, esq.
- Dec. 21. John Dickinson, second son of Samuel D. of Delaware, Kent, Pennsylvania, America, called 8 Feb., 1757.
- 1754 Jan. 1. Carter Henry Harrison, second son of Benjamin H. of Berkley, Charles City, Virginia, America, esq.
- May 28. Cornelius Low, second son of Cornelius L. of New Jersey, America, merchant.
- Oct. 11. John Rutledge, son and heir of John R. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq., called 9 Feb., 1760.
- Nov. 20. John Mackenzie, son and heir of William M. of South Carolina, esq., called 29 June, 1759.
- " 21. John Ambler, second son of Richard A. of Virginia, esq., called 28 Jan., 1757.

- Dec. 3. James Hollyday, eldest son of the Hon. James H. of Queen Anne's County, Maryland, esq., decd.  
" 25. John Morris, eldest son of Samuel M. of Philadelphia, America, esq.
- 1755 Dec. 31. Robert Bolling, sixth son of John B. of Cobbs, Chesterfield, Virginia, America, esq.
- 1756 Jan. 17. Ralph Peters, of Platbridge, near Wigan, Lancashire, eldest son of William P. of Philadelphia, America, esq., called 25 Nov., 1757.  
Feb. 11. Gawen Corbin, eldest son of Richard C. of Kings and Queen's County, Virginia, America, esq., called 23 Jan., 1761.
- 1756 Feb. 24. Philip Thomas Lee, son of Richard L. of Charles County, Maryland, America, esq., called 10 Feb., 1764.
- 1757 Jan. 5. Robert Beverley, only son of William B. of Blandfield, Essex, Virginia, America, esq., decd., called 6 Feb., 1761.  
Apr. 14. Arthur Middleton, eldest son of Henry M. of South Carolina, America, esq.  
Nov. 11. John Brice, eldest son of John B. of Annapolis, Maryland, America, esq.
- 1758 May 9. Thomas McKean, son of William McK. of Chester, Pennsylvania, America.
- 1759 July 12. Joshua Ward, second son of John W. of Charlestown, South Carolina, gent., decd.  
Aug. 6. Andrew Allen, second son of William A. of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, America, esq.  
" 6. James Allen, third son of William A. of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, America, esq.  
Nov. 30. Edmund Key, sixth son of Philip K. of St. Mary's County, Maryland, America, esq.
- Dec. 18. Alexander Lawson, only son of Alexander L. of Baltimore County, Maryland, America, esq.
- 1760 Sep. 25. William Fauntleroy, eldest son of William F. of Essex County, Virginia, America, esq.
- 1761 Jan. 9. Walter Livingston, second son of Robert L. of New York, North America.  
" 9. Robert Livingston, third son of Robert L. of New York, North America, esq.
- 1761 Oct. 14. Lloyd Dulany, fourth son of Daniel D. of Anne Arundel, Maryland, America, esq., decd.
- 1762 Aug. 3. Jasper Yates, second son of Jasper Y. of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, America, esq.
- 1763 May 14. Gabriel Cathcart, only son of William C. of Roanoke, North Carolina, esq.  
Dec. 16. Nicholas Waln, second son of Nicholas W. of Philadelphia, America, gent., decd.  
" 16. Joseph Reed, eldest son of Andrew R. of Trenton, Hunterdon, New Jersey, America, esq.
- 1764 Jan. 23. William Hamilton, second son of Andrew H. of Philadelphia, America, esq., decd.  
" 24. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, eldest son of Charles P. of Charlestown, South Carolina, esq., decd., called 27 Jan., 1769.  
Oct. 27. John Matthews, only son of John M. of South Carolina, America, esq., decd.

- 1765 Jan. 10. Thomas Hayward [Heyward], eldest son of Daniel H. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq., called 25 May, 1770.  
 June 19. James Wright, second son of James W. esq. of Georgia, governor, called 27 Nov., 1772.  
 " 28. Hugh Rutledge, son of John R. of Charlestown, South Carolina, esq., decd.  
 July 2. Alexander Harvey, eldest son of William H. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq.
- 1766 Feb. 6. Henry Yonge, eldest son of Henry Y. of Georgia, America, esq.
- 1767 Jan. 12. Edward Rutledge, fifth son of John R. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq., decd., called 3 July, 1772.  
 Feb. 17. Paul Trapier, only son of Paul T. of George Town, South Carolina, America, esq.  
 Mar. 6. Thomas Lynch, only son of Thomas L. of Charles Town, South Carolina, America, esq.  
 Nov. 17. Gustavus Scott, eldest son of the Rev. James S. of Prince William's County, Virginia, America, clergyman, called 27 Nov., 1772.
- 1768 Sep. 29. Alexander Moultrie, youngest son of John M. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq.  
 Oct. 4. Richard Shubrick, eldest son of James S. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, arm.  
 " 6. Philip Neyle, only son of Samson N. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq., called 26 Nov., 1773.  
 Dec. 16. Thomas Pinckney, second son of Charles P. of South Carolina, America, esq., decd., called 25 Nov., 1774.  
 " 23. James Peronneau, fourth son of Henry P. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq., decd.
- 1769 Jan. 2. William Oliphant, eldest son of David O. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq.  
 " 7. John Fashreud [Faucheraud] Grimke, son and heir of John Paul G. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq.  
 " 18. Henry Lee Ball, eldest son of William B. of Lancaster County, Province of Virginia, America, arm.
- 1769 July 15. Richard Tilghman, second son of James T. of Philadelphia, America, esq.
- 1770 Nov. 8. Daniel Dulany, son and heir of Walter D. of Maryland, America, esq.
- 1771 Apr. 15. Phineas Bond, only son of Phineas B. of Philadelphia, America, doctor of Medicine, called 18 June, 1779.  
 Minute of Parliament 5 May, 1797.

A letter having been read by the Under Treasurer which he lately received from Phineas Bond, Esquire, a barrister of this Society and His Britannic Majesty's Consul at Philadelphia (in answer to one which the Under Treasurer some time since sent to Mr. Bond as surety for Mr. Rawle and Mr. Chew) stating that upon conversing with those gentlemen who resided at Philadelphia he found they never had any intention of being called to the bar in England nor would that measure have been practicable as they could not in the state of alienage in which they stood have taken the oath of allegiance to the Crown and that they were merely admitted of the So-

ciety for the purpose of deriving that benefit from an intercourse with professional men to which an induction into an Inn of Court naturally introduced them, and that when they left England they presumed they ceased to be members and all duties were at an end. That having the most implicit reliance in the candor and equity of the Benchers they would be completely governed by their decision. Ordered that Mr. Bond be informed that according to the usage of the Society their arrears should be paid and that their accounts shall be suspended upon their paying duties up to the present time and that their bonds will be cancelled upon their signifying it to be their wish in writing.

- 1771 May 3. Walter Aitchison, son and heir of William A. of Virginia, America, merchant.  
 " 31. Cyrus Griffin, sixth son of Le Roy G. of Virginia, America, esq., decd.
- 1772 May 25. William Ward Burrows, son and heir of William B. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq.  
 June 10. William Heyward, third son of Daniel H. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq.  
 " 24. Edward Tilghman, eldest son of Edward T. of Queen Anne's County, Maryland, America, esq.
- 1772 Sep. 16. John Laurens, son and heir of Henry L. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq.
- 1773 Jan. 13. Henry Lee, eldest son of Henry L. of Lee-Sylvania, [Prince] William County, Virginia, America, esq.  
 May 1. Richard Beresford, eldest son of Richard B. of South Carolina, America, decd., esq.  
 " 4. Charles Pinckney, eldest son of Charles P. of Charlestown, South Carolina, esq.  
 " 14. Nicholas Maccubbin, eldest son of Nicholas M. of Annapolis, Maryland, America, esq.  
 June 28. Thomas Shubrick, second son of Thomas S. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq.  
 July 16. Jared Ingersoll, only son of Jared I. of Philadelphia, America, esq.  
 " 31. Henry Nicholes, second son of Isaac N. of St. Paul's Parish, South Carolina, America, esq., decd.  
 " 31. John Pringle, eldest son of Robert P. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq.  
 Sep. 29. Joseph Ball Downman, eldest son of Rawleigh D. of Virginia, America, esq.
- Nov. 15. Arthur Lee (admitted to Lincoln's Inn, 1 March 1770) youngest son of the Hon. Thomas L. of Virginia, America, esq., called 5 May, 1775.
- 1774 Jan. 28. Moses Franks, second son of David F. of Philadelphia, America, esq., called 23 Nov., 1781.  
 Mar. 30. Benjamin Smith, son of Thomas S. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq.
- 1774 May 12. William Smith, eldest son of Benjamin S. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq., decd.  
 Oct. 25. Robert Milligan, only son of George M. of Cecil County, Maryland, America, esq.

- 1775 May 13. William Simpson, eldest son of James S. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq., called 26 May, 1786.  
 " 31. John Parker, eldest son of John P. of Goose Creek, South Carolina, America, Esq.  
 " 31. Hext McCall, son of John M. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq.
- 1776 Jan. 24. William Dummer Powell, son and heir of John P. of Boston, New England, America, esq., called 6 Feb., 1784.  
 Nov. 15. Charles Pryce, only son of Charles P., esq., Attorney General in Georgia, America.
- 1777 Nov. 14. James Simpson, esq., Attorney General, South Carolina, eldest son of William S. of Georgia, America, Chief Justice, called 4 July, 1783.
- 1781 Feb. 15. William Roberts, eldest son of Humphrey R. of Virginia, esq., called 18 May, 1787.  
 June 4. James Smith, fourth son of Thomas S. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq.  
 Aug. 17. William Rawle, only son of Francis R. of Philadelphia, America, merchant, decd.  
 Sep. 6. Joseph Manigault, second son of Peter M. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq., decd.
- 1781 Oct. 25. Daniel Horry, eldest son of Daniel H. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq.
- 1782 June 28. Peter Porcher, second son of Philip P. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq.  
 July 15. John Gaillard, eldest son of John G. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq.  
 " 15. Theodore Gaillard, second son of John G. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq.  
 " 22. Archibald Young, eldest son of Benjamin Y. of Georgetown, South Carolina, America, esq.
- 1783 Feb. 10. Thomas Simons, eldest son of Maurice S. of Charlestown, South Carolina, North America, esq.  
 June 3. William Mazyck, eldest son of William M. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq., decd.
- 1784 Jan. 7. Benjamin Chew, only son of Benjamin C. of Philadelphia, America, esq.  
 " 13. John Saunders, eldest son of Jonathan S. of Virginia, esq., decd., called 6 Feb., 1789.  
 Feb. 2. Philip Key, second son of Francis K. of Maryland, America, esq., decd.  
 Apr. 28. William Vans Murray, eldest son of Henry M. of Maryland, America, doctor of medicine.
- 1785 Jan. 12. John Leeds Bozman, only son of John B. of Maryland, America, esq.  
 " 14. Robert Alexander, second son of William A. of Richmond, America, esq.
- 1785 Apr. 22. George Boone Roupell, only son of George R. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq., called 4 June, 1790.  
 " 29. Henry Gibbes, second son of William G. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq.

- 1786 May 18. John Gaillard, second son of Theodore G. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq.
- Nov. 4. William Allen Deas, second son of John D. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq.
- Nov. 9. William Boyd, second son of George Boyd of Lowhayton, Essex, and Portsmouth, near Boston, America.
- 1787 Feb. 1. Miles Brewton Pinckney, third son of Charles P. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq.
- Apr. 27. Roger Pinckney, eldest son of Roger P. of South Carolina, America, esq., decd.
- 1793 Mar. 28. Henry Izard, eldest son of Ralph I. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq.
- 1794 Sep. 16. James Edmund Houstoun, eldest son of James H. of Savannah, Georgia, America, doctor of medicine.
- 1796 July 20. Jonathan Perrie Coffin, esq. (admitted to the Inner Temple 23 May, 1788), fifth son of Nathaniel C. of Boston, America, esq., decd.
- 1804 March 15. Clement Simpson, only son of Jacob S. of Georgia, America, esq., decd.
- 1807 Apr. 23. Samuel Gordon, eldest son of Robert G. of Farrerin, Sligo, Irèland, and of Johnville, Abbeville, South Carolina, esq.
- 1808 Nov. 17. Jacob Shoemaker Waln, youngest son of Nicholas W. of Philadelphia, America, esq.
- 1836 Nov. 17. Alexander Palache, eldest son of Mordecai P. of New York, gent.

#### THE NATIONAL TICKET OF BROOM AND COATES, 1852

To few specialists in American political history would "Broom and Coates" suggest the names of candidates for the presidency and vice-presidency. No mention of them is made in the standard books dealing with presidential elections, such as those of Stanwood and McKee, nor, so far as is known, in the more special works on political parties. The object of this note is to present such information respecting this long-forgotten ticket as was discovered in the course of a somewhat extensive research on the general subject of presidential elections.

On July 5-6, 1852, the Native American party, later more commonly known as the American, or Know-Nothing, party, held a national convention at Trenton, New Jersey, at which thirty-one delegates representing nine states—Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Massachusetts, Illinois, Ohio, Maryland, Virginia, and Georgia—were present. After adopting resolutions setting forth the principles of Americanism, and after changing the name of the party by dropping the word "native", the convention nominated Daniel Webster of Massachusetts for President, and George C. Washington of Montgomery County, Maryland, for Vice-President. The

permanent president of the convention was Jacob Broom of Philadelphia, and one of its most active members was Dr. Reynell Coates of Camden, New Jersey.<sup>1</sup>

On learning of his nomination through the public prints, Washington, who had been a member of Congress for four terms and who was a grand-nephew of General Washington, declined the nomination,<sup>2</sup> and Dr. Reynell Coates was chosen to fill the vacancy. Webster neither accepted nor declined,<sup>3</sup> and his name remained at the head of the ticket until his death on October 24. Three days later the national executive committee of the American party nominated Jacob Broom to take Webster's place.<sup>4</sup>

It is said that brooms and old coats were conspicuous emblems in this campaign of the American party.<sup>5</sup> If so, the use of brooms must have been limited to the period October 27–November 2—the last date being the day of the election. It is also said that Coates was wont to refer jocularly to the ticket of Webster and Coates as the “kangaroo ticket”—quite properly thinking of himself as its “shorter legs”.<sup>6</sup> At the election on November 2, the ticket of the American party received 1670 votes in Pennsylvania, 831 votes in New Jersey, and 184 votes in Massachusetts.<sup>7</sup> If it received any votes in other states, they were so few and scattering that no record was made of them in collections of returns.

Broom belonged to a family of some distinction, as may be seen from Campbell's life of the elder Broom.<sup>8</sup> After running for the presidency, he served a term in Congress, 1855–1857, having been elected thereto as the candidate of the American party. A speech that he made in the House entitled “Defense of Americanism”, may be found in the *Congressional Globe* for 1856 (app., pp. 1081–1084). He died in Washington, D. C., in November, 1864.

Dr. Reynell Coates, of Philadelphia Quaker stock, is set down in a somewhat fulsome sketch of his life as “surgeon, scientist, statesman, naturalist, pedagogue, poet, lecturer, essayist, and founder of the Patriotic Order Sons of America”.<sup>8</sup> Possessing considerable

<sup>1</sup> *Weekly True American* (Trenton), July 9, 1852.

<sup>2</sup> *Daily National Intelligencer* (Washington), July 14, 1852.

<sup>3</sup> F. A. Ogg, *Daniel Webster*, p. 407. See also C. H. Van Tyne, *Letters of Daniel Webster*, pp. 539–540.

<sup>4</sup> *North American and United States Gazette* (Philadelphia), October 28, 1852.

<sup>5</sup> W. W. Campbell, *Life and Character of Jacob Broom* [father of the candidate] (1909), p. 30.

<sup>6</sup> W. P. Steinhäuser, *Biographical Sketch of Dr. Reynell Coates* (1913), p. 10.

<sup>7</sup> *Whig Almanac for 1853*, pp. 51, 52, 49.

<sup>8</sup> Steinhäuser, *Biographical Sketch*, p. 1.



versatility, and possibly for this reason failing in his chosen profession—that of medicine—he, like many other men under similar circumstances, adopted a literary mode of life. If one may judge from the large number of his publications, he pursued literature with signal success, although, it is said, with little pecuniary reward. The wide range of his writings may be seen from a few of their titles: *Reminiscences of a Voyage to India, Hope, The Gambler's Wife, First Lines of Physiology, Leaflets of Memory, and Address of the Native Americans to the Native and Naturalized Citizens of the United States.* Dr. Coates died at Camden, New Jersey, in April, 1886.

CHARLES O. PAULLIN.

## DOCUMENTS

### I. *Letter of William Wirt, 1819*

THE treaty between the United States and Spain, for the cession of Florida, was signed February 22, 1819, and ratified at once by the United States Senate. Its terms required the King of Spain to ratify it within six months. In October, 1819, it was well known that he had not done this, but instead had indicated his intention to send a new envoy, for further discussion of certain points. During October and November, therefore, there was much public discussion, and much debate in President Monroe's cabinet, as to what course of action the government of the United States should take in the event that no ratification should arrive before the meeting of Congress, when a message from the President upon the matter would be expected. Occupation of Florida was generally advocated. In addition, many Americans continued to demand Texas, and to cast longing glances to the southward, as a field where American diplomacy should assert itself. The latter part of the fourth volume of the *Memoirs* of John Quincy Adams shows the thoughts, on this subject, of the member of the Cabinet chiefly concerned. Those of another are shown in the letter printed below.

The letter was written by William Wirt, attorney general of the United States 1817-1829, to his friend John Coalter, of Richmond, Virginia, and of "Chatham" in Stafford County, on the Rappahannock opposite Fredericksburg. John Coalter (1771-1838), who had been a judge of the general court of Virginia from 1809 to 1811, was from 1811 to 1831 a judge of the supreme court of appeals. He had married a half-sister of John Randolph of Roanoke, a daughter of Judge St. George Tucker. The original letter is the property of Miss Nina Grinnan, of Madison County, Virginia, a descendant of Judge Coalter. Miss Grinnan gave permission to President Charles William Dabney, of the University of Cincinnati, to copy and publish it, and by his kind favor it appears here.

*To Mr. John Coalter of  
Richmond, Va.*

WASHINGTON, Oct. 25. 1819

UPON my word this is a bright as well as a bold thought—and were it not for the very near approach of congress,<sup>1</sup> to whom the question of

<sup>1</sup> Congress was to meet December 6.

peace or war properly belongs, I believe it would be quite as well to right ourselves, by the short cut you propose. I believe that Virgil's coat turned loose, at the close of a long winter, into a rich meadow, would not enjoy the luxuriant frolic more than Jackson would, to be turned loose into the Spanish Provinces, Cuba included. What antics, what tantarums, what didos would be cut—stand clear all ye Arbuthnots and Anbristers,<sup>2</sup> and all ye Seminolean and Spanish chiefs—for the devil is to play among the tailors. Suppose you drop this hint to congress, either through the members whom you know, or through the papers. I think it would be well worth their while to enquire whether the temporary occupation of the Texas, as far as the Colorado, would not be expedient, considering the inability of Spain to hold it, even against intruders, for the purpose of meeting the final decree of the court—and then when we have it (and Florida, for the same reason, viz. it's protection for the right owner) we may, after the example of Spain, go on to negotiate at our ease. But I am against the example of the French republic—no fraternal hugs by force—it does not suit the genius of our government. Justice, forbearance, generosity, moderation and magnanimity are the characteristics with which we ought to seek to cloathe our nation—all these, however, are perfectly compatible with the cool and firm assertion of our rights—and although Spain, from her imbecility, would be an object of pity, if her ludicrous arrogance did not make her one of contempt, yet I think we have humored her childish and wayward caprices long enough—and I would take her play-things from her, 'till she came to her sober senses and to a sense of justice toward us. The truth of the matter is that all these provinces must fall off from Spain, in a very few years, whether we take them or not. The parent trunk is rotten, and can no longer sustain such extensive and ponderous branches. "The date of knock [?] is out" and "off must drop the sympathetic snout" not that the analogy is precise in this case—for it is not by sympathetic decay that the provinces will fall—but by the weight of their luxuriance and by the disposition of Spain to repress and circumscribe their growth and to trim them into a senile subjection to her whims. I believe that every man who observes what is going on, is satisfied that all that tissue of provinces down to the isthmus will be independent in a few years. Now tell me what will be the consequence of their separte independence, each for itself, or their forming themselves into one or several confederations. Would it be better for us, for our peace, that they should hold this separte existence, or that they should be incorporated with us. If in the infant state the stronger powers of Europe shd. make a run at them, supposing them to continue separte, what should be our course? Should we aid them? If we should what would be the consequences—Russia being, as she certainly would, among the ambitious invaders, for she has indicated already a strong hankering after our coast on the Pacific—only observe with what great events this movement of the Spanish colonies is pregnant—pray how far can you see into the womb of time? I think (as at present advised) that it wd. have a good effect on the powers of Europe, to make these provinces a part of ourselves as fast as it can be constitutionally done—for I don't think that either of them (the powers of Europe) would be very forward, to seek a quarrel with us, wantonly. I think that less than half

<sup>2</sup> See J. S. Bassett, *Life of Andrew Jackson*, pp. 254–258.

a century will find the U. S. at the Stony Mountains and powerful enough to cope, in a defensive war, with the combined world. How hard is it upon us, that we cannot live to see these things—but we can look from Mount Pisgah, with Moses, upon this promised land. Pray indulge the cabinet with some of your prescience on these subjects, with a sketch of the policy which you think they ought to pursue. Are you satisfied that our title to Texas is clear? If it be, 'tho' a nation as well as a man may (*perhaps*) have a right to take it's own property, whenever and wherever, it can do so, *without a breach of the peace*, can it do so, *per force*, without creating that state of things which is called *war*—and if so, can the Presidt. of the U. S. produce that state of things, without invading the powers of congress?—as these questions stand immediately connected with your present advice, the cabinet would thank you for your opinion. Can the President do more than to recommend your measure to congress? I suppose it will be impossible to mark out, in advance, any general course of policy which it would be certainly proper to pursue in relation to these colonies. Each emergency must be met as it arises, and under it's own circumstances—which will vary infinitely, and produce a different course, in one case, from what it will be proper to adopt in another—sufficient to the day is the evil thereof, says laziness—what says political prophecy?

Where is my friend Judge Tucker.<sup>3</sup> I hope I do not mistake in calling him still my friend, altho' I confess I have not deserved it, if I am to be judged only by the number of letters I have written him—but if I am so to be judged, I am not worthy of the friendship of any man or woman (except my wife) since there is no one to whom I have not given apparent cause of displeasure on this head. But, indeed and in truth, I have so much writing to do, by force, that I am glad enough to rest when I can and I ask from my friends no other indulgence than I am willing to extend to them—which is the consummation of gospel morality, so far as concerns our earthly relations. Has Mr. Tucker seen Walsh's new book called "An Appeal from the judgments of G. Britain, respecting the U. S. A.?"<sup>4</sup> If he has not, I hope he will see it, for if I mistake not he will be much gratified by it. It contains a good deal of curious, antiquarian research into our history; and, with much truth and a good deal of address, "rolls back the torrent of British calumny on it's source". I would send the book to him, but that I infer from a late enquirer that it has reached your city. . . .

So then we are not to see you and your new coat, at last—for as you have not come while Henry Tucker<sup>5</sup> was in congress and furnished you a good excuse, I take it for granted you will not come, now. You are a shabby fellow. But suppose you come on this winter and hear the interesting debate to which our affairs with Spain will no doubt give rise—

<sup>3</sup> St. George Tucker (1752–1827), stepfather of John Randolph of Roanoke, and father-in-law of Judge Coalter. He was a judge of the general court of Virginia from 1788 to 1804, and of the supreme court of appeals of that state from 1804 to 1811. From 1813 to 1825 he was judge of the United States district court for the eastern district of Virginia.

<sup>4</sup> By Robert Walsh (Philadelphia, 1819); see McMaster, *History*, V. 326–337.

<sup>5</sup> Henry St. George Tucker (1780–1848), son of Judge St. George Tucker, and brother-in-law of Judge Coalter. He had been a member of the House of Representatives from Virginia, 1815–1819.

besides they will stand in need of you to set them to rights—if you come, come on straight to my house where you shall find a bed ready for you and such a welcome as, *mutatis mutandis*, you would give to me—which I own is a *bould word*. Suppose you come on and meet Dabney Carr,<sup>6</sup> here?—for here he will be *the winter*. I wish I could suggest some motive to bring you on—for I am sure it would contribute to your amusement as well as to our happiness. Mrs. W. and L.<sup>7</sup> unite with me in love to you and yours.

In life and death your friend

WM. WIRT.

[*Postscript in another hand:*]

Tell Frances<sup>8</sup> that I want to write to her but am determined that she shall write first.

LAURA.

## 2. Letter of Daniel Webster, 1833

THE following letter, for which we are indebted to Professor Herbert D. Foster, of Dartmouth College, presents several points of interest. The tariff bill reported by Verplanck in the House of Representatives on December 27, 1832, in order to avert conflict with South Carolina in view of the ordinance of nullification passed by her state convention on November 24, had been debated at intervals ever since, with varying fortunes. President Jackson had followed his proclamation of December 10 with a message to Congress on January 16, 1833, reviewing the progress of events in South Carolina, and asking for additional legislation to enforce the revenue laws. Three days after the date of this letter, January 21, Senator Wilkins reported his bill to enforce the collection of the revenue, passed February 20.<sup>1</sup>

Of particular significance, in view of the later criticism of Webster for his courtesy to the dying Calhoun in the Seventh of March speech of 1850 "On the Constitution and the Union", is the expression of that kindly personal feeling which Webster always preserved

<sup>6</sup> Dabney Carr the younger (1773–1837), nephew of Jefferson (see Jefferson's letter to him in *Writings*, ed. Ford, X. 15), was one of the chancellors of Virginia from 1811 to 1824, and a judge of the supreme court of appeals from 1824 to 1837. He was Wirt's most intimate friend, to whom many of the letters in Kennedy's biography of Wirt are addressed.

<sup>7</sup> Laura, Wirt's eldest daughter, born in 1803. In 1826 she married Thomas Randall of Annapolis; she died in 1833.

<sup>8</sup> Frances Leila Coalter, the judge's eldest daughter, born in 1803, died in 1821.

<sup>1</sup> Supported by Webster. *Writings and Speeches*, "National Edition" (1903), XIV. 152 ff.

toward Calhoun even when most strongly opposed to his political views.<sup>2</sup>

The letter was written to Webster's intimate friend, Stephen White, merchant and member of the Massachusetts senate.<sup>3</sup> He was a nephew of Captain Joseph White, of Salem, whose murderers Webster helped in a famous case to prosecute. The letter was given by White or his family to Mr. Marcus Cormerais, father of Mrs. Alfred E. Wyman, of Newtonville, Massachusetts, who presented it to Dartmouth College.

WASHINGTON Friday Eve'  
Jan. 18. '33

*My Dear Sir*

I have recd your letter of Monday, 14th. and am glad to hear there is a probability of some expression of good sentiments by Massachusetts.<sup>4</sup> Such a proceeding will help us. Our prospects here grow daily better. I begin to think our friends have got the mastery of the Tariff, in the H. of R. There may be some renewed effort; but at present the *repealers* are heartless and desponding. This effect has been brought about, first, by the vigorous attack made on the Bill, in Debate. Our own Delegation have behaved most manfully, in this respect. No men could do better. Poor Davis<sup>5</sup> has been sick, it is true, and that is a great drawback; but others have supplied his place. He is getting well, and I hope will be in the House by Monday. The effect has been produced, secondly, by the Presidents Message of the 16.<sup>6</sup> This has convinced many members that the question with S. Carolina must be *seen thro'*, and that no modification of the Tariff would do any good.

I went into the House, today, after our own adjournment, and several Gentlemen told me they looked on the bill as already a corpse, though they may continue the debate, perhaps, a week longer.

The Message of the 16. has produced a strong sensation. People begin to see, at last, what Nullification is, and what must be done to put it down. It makes them look sober. Mr. Calhoun is highly excited. He acts as if he felt the whole world to be agt. him. I expect that, tomorrow, he will move a set of *instructions* to the Com<sup>ee</sup> that is charged with

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Lodge, it may be remembered, speaks of Webster as "never in the habit of saying pleasant things to his opponents in the Senate. . . . But on the 7th of March, he elaborately complimented Calhoun". •Lodge, *Webster*, pp. 325-326.

<sup>3</sup> Several familiar letters of the same period are in the *Private Correspondence*, I. 519-526.

<sup>4</sup> The expression took the form of a joint resolution, passed by the Massachusetts senate on January 18 and by the house of representatives on January 23, "instructing the Senators and requesting the Representatives" to use all the means in their power to prevent the passing of a bill reducing the tariff to meet the views of the South Carolina nullifiers. *Sen. Doc. 60*, 22 Cong., 2 sess., vol. I.

<sup>5</sup> John Davis (1787-1854), representative from Massachusetts 1825-1834, senator 1835-1840, 1845-1853.

<sup>6</sup> Richardson, *Messages*, II. 610-632.

the message.<sup>7</sup> I hardly know what they will be, but I suppose they will comprise the S. C. opinions. Looking upon Mr. C. and the whole party here, as completely prostrate, I confess I feel no disposition to treat them with unnecessary harshness, or censure. Mr. C. will certainly not provoke any thing personal, between himself and me, and, as certainly, I shall forbear from any personal unkindness towards him.

It is now three years, My Dear Sir, since I ventured here, in the face of a most fiery opposition, to maintain sentiments, such as are contain'd in the Proclamation, and the Message.<sup>8</sup> All the rage of party broke out upon me, for so doing, like an overwhelming flood. Mr. C. himself took a very active part agt. me (but not more so than the rest) and, as I believe, wrote very abusive paragraphs, in the Newspaper. Times, and men, have now changed; tho' as [for] Mr. Calhoun, he retains his same opinions, and he sees where they have brought him.

I suppose I shall learn tomorrow who is to be Senator, in my place. One thing I can say with sincerity—I *hope the place will be better filled than it has been.*<sup>9</sup> Mr. Silsbee<sup>10</sup> has bad news of his brother. I a little fear he will go home.

Yrs D. W.

Pray give my love to the Damsels.<sup>11</sup>

[P. S.] Fanny Kemble is here, turning every body's head. I went to see and hear her, last Eve',<sup>12</sup> and paid for it by a tremendous cold. I hear that the Venerable *Judges* go constantly.<sup>13</sup>

Judge Story<sup>14</sup> has excellent health.

<sup>7</sup> Calhoun had taken his seat in the Senate, after resigning the vice-presidency, on January 4. His resolutions of January 23 are in the *Senate Journal* of that date, pp. 121-122.

<sup>8</sup> The reference, of course, is to the debate on Foot's resolutions ("Reply to Hayne", etc.) in 1830.

<sup>9</sup> Webster, whose term expired March 4, 1833, was re-elected.

<sup>10</sup> Nathaniel Silsbee, senator from Massachusetts 1826-1835.

<sup>11</sup> "The Damsels" were the two younger daughters of Stephen White. The eldest daughter, Harriette (1809-1863), had already married James W. Paige; her journal of a visit to England with Webster and his wife in 1839 has lately been published, *Daniel Webster in England* (Boston, 1917). The younger daughters were Caroline (1811-1886), who afterward married Fletcher Webster, and Ellen (1812-1861).

<sup>12</sup> The play on that evening was *The School for Scandal*. Fanny Kemble played in Washington throughout the week, January 14-19. Her own lively account of it is in her *Journal* (London, 1835), II. 117-143. She heard Webster in the Senate on the 14th; *ibid.*, II. 120.

<sup>13</sup> "We have had little to do this week in Court. . . . Having some leisure on our hands, the Chief Justice and myself have devoted some of it to attendance upon the theatre to hear Miss Fanny Kemble, who has been in this city the past week." Story to his wife, January 20. Story, *Life of Story*, II. 116.

<sup>14</sup> Justice Story was a brother of Mrs. Stephen White, and uncle of "the damsels".



## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

*Diplomacy and the Study of International Relations.* By D. P. HEATLEY, Lecturer in History, University of Edinburgh. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. Pp. xvi, 292. 7 sh. 6 d.)

THE purpose of this book, as stated by its author, is "to portray diplomacy and the conduct of foreign policy from the stand-point of history, to show how they have been analyzed and appraised by representative writers, and to indicate sources from which the knowledge thus acquired may be supplemented".

The first third of the volume consists of an essay of a general character on Diplomacy and the Conduct of Foreign Policy, written from a British point of view, but without discussing either the fundamental conceptions or the historical development of British policy. A great proportion of this chapter is devoted to citations from various writers and long and numerous explanatory notes, some of them having only a remote relation to the subject.

The entire volume, in fact, appears to consist chiefly of the contents of note-books made in the course of casual reading. So far as either diplomacy or the conduct of foreign affairs is concerned, the treatment is historical only in the sense that an attempt has been made to arrange the citations chronologically under the topics discussed. The reader who expects to find in this volume either a historical or an analytical method applied to the substance of diplomacy, in its operation or its results, will be disappointed. On the other hand, he will find in these pages many interesting comments on the instruments and maxims of diplomacy, ranging in time from Machiavelli to Bismarck, Salisbury, and Balfour.

The remaining two-thirds of this book consist of a general discussion of the Literature of International Relations. Under this heading we have a few pages on the scope of the study of diplomacy, in which Charles de Marten's *Guide Diplomatique* is chiefly drawn upon. There are two pages on general history, in which only a few well-known English works are mentioned; and, with the exception of Lavissee and Rambaud's *Histoire Générale* and *Les Archives de l'Histoire de France*, the extremely rich French literature on diplomatic history is wholly ignored.

Juristic literature receives more serious treatment, but historically is confined to Wheaton, Nys, and Walker. Under the treatises of international law Wheaton's *Elements* comes in for well-deserved high praise, although it was originally written so long ago. Besides this only the

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works of Phillimore, Twiss, and Hall among writers in English are commented upon, while none of the Continental writers are mentioned except Vattel and G. F. de Martens. Even for the student for the diplomatic service this is a rather narrow range.

Under controversial literature is inserted a long disquisition on the Sovereignty of the Sea, not indeed without historical interest but without practical importance in the present state of sea-law. The reason for the inclusion of this excursus may perhaps be found in the closing paragraph, quoted from an almost forgotten writer, to the effect that because the "Sovereignty of our Seas" is "the most precious Jewell of his Maiesties Crowne, and . . . the principall meanes of our Wealth and Safetie, all true English hearts and hands are bound by all possible meanes and diligence to preserve and maintaine the same, even with the uttermost hazzard of their lives, their goods, and fortunes" (p. 141).

The bibliography on treaties, maps, and supplementary reading is rather scanty. Room could have been made for a wider view by the omission of long textual quotations from books that are easily accessible. The section on projects of perpetual peace could have been abbreviated by reference to well-known books, and the nearly thirty pages in French on the qualities of a diplomatist could as well have been read in Callières's full text, which can readily be had even in English. The appendix on the effect of telegraphic communications upon the responsibility of diplomatic missions contains the testimony of several important statesmen, and the sections on the treatment of international questions by the parliaments of different countries convey useful and not readily accessible information. A good index adds much to the value of the book as a work of reference.

In his references to the *Federalist*, the author cites and appears to commend Hamilton's comments on the deficiencies of democracies in the conduct of foreign relations. Mr. Heatley has been misled, however, apparently by Oliver, in his book on *Alexander Hamilton* (p. 351), when he says in the preface to this book, referring to Washington's Farewell Address, that it "came from the pen of Hamilton". It was the result of long meditation and a part of its substance had been formulated by Madison many years before the aid of Hamilton was invoked. The precise truth is stated in Horace Binney's *Inquiry into the Formation of Washington's Farewell Address*, in which he proves that "the soul of the address" was Washington's. See also Lodge, *The Works of Alexander Hamilton* (Constitutional edition), VIII. 187, 189. It is misleading, therefore, to say that it "came from the pen of Hamilton". Its wisdom was the wisdom of Washington.

It should be added that, whatever may be the estimate of this volume in other respects, its tone is scholarly and gives evidence of much painstaking in its preparation.

DAVID JAYNE HILL.

0 *The Empire of the Amorites.* By ALBERT T. CLAY. [Yale Oriental series, Researches, vol. VI.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1919. Pp. 192. \$2.50.)

WHEN Sydney Smith was an Edinburgh reviewer he once began a notice with this sentence:

There are two questions to be asked respecting every new publication—Is it worth buying? Is it worth borrowing? and we would advise our readers to weigh diligently the importance of these interrogations, before they take any decided step as to this work of Mr. Edgeworth; the more especially as the name carries with it considerable authority, and seems, in the estimation of the unwary, almost to include the idea of purchase

—and then declined to give a direct answer! With greater boldness and less discretion, there is here to be an answer. This new book by Professor Clay is a sequel to a much smaller volume entitled *Amurru, the Home of the Northern Semites, a Study showing that the Religion and Culture of Israel are not of Babylonian Origin* (Philadelphia, 1909). The earlier book was in some measure vitiated by certain speculative etymologies, after the manner of Hommel, which have died unwept and do not appear in these pages. With these have disappeared also some other suggestions, as for example, the location of Ur, which are frankly withdrawn. It is a pity that other scholars are not always so transparently honest. What remains is a most learned, suggestive, and in many details persuasive account of the early Amorites. Beyond that I do not think that sober judgment is likely to go. Clay argues that there was a “great Empire of the Amorites” in which he gives powers of great magnitude to “mighty Amorite rulers”, and builds for them an “imperial city . . . which was powerful enough to rule the land from the Mediterranean to Babylonia”. All this and much more is based on fragmentary evidence piled high and ever higher on names of places, names of deities, or fugitive allusions in Babylonian and Assyrian texts all of periods far later than the “third, fourth and fifth milleniums” in which this supposed and subjective empire is presumed to have held sway. One dislikes intensely to say it, but the book presents no objective, positive evidence that there was ever such an “empire”. The word empire is quite inexcusable, no kings’ names of those who ruled it being known, and no imperial city of theirs ever having been excavated. If then this judgment be not unjust, it may well be asked what useful service Clay has performed in this book. The answer is not slow to be found; it is that the book is crowded with the proofs that Amorites lived and influenced the course of human history and that we must find a place for them larger than most of us had dreamed before Clay began these investigations more than a decade ago. It is his just due to say that he has opened new windows into the dimly seen and darkly understood lands of western Asia as the early kingdoms were founded. He has not demonstrated the existence of an empire, but of an influence.

and that is quite enough. If he had claimed less he would be likely to find a wider receptiveness. He has, for example, in chapter II., the Home of the Semites, attacked the theory, or hypothesis, of the origins of the Semites in Arabia, and at the end of the volume (p. 186) speaks of the "collapse" of the theory. I fancy that most of us are likely to continue to hold it, while we gladly concede that the land of Amurru had its place and its influence upon these same Semites, though we be unwilling to give our assent when Clay says, "It is of course apparent that the trend of what precedes is toward regarding practically everything that is Semitic Babylonian as having its origin in Amurru" (p. 186). But as to the wisdom of buying this book, or of borrowing it if that must be, let there be no doubt. There is instruction in it far beyond the limits of its claims as to an Amorite empire.

ROBERT W. ROGERS.

*Histoire Ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord.* Par STÉPHANE GSELL, Professeur au Collège de France. Tome IV. *La Civilisation Carthaginoise.* (Paris: Hachette. 1920. Pp. 515. 25 fr.)

THIS volume of Gsell's history is likely to interest readers even more than its predecessors, because the phases of Carthaginian life with which it deals are those which are at the same time least familiar to us, and yet most important in a study of ancient Mediterranean civilization. In a notice which the *Review* published two years ago (XXIII. 839 ff.) of volumes II. and III., the present reviewer spoke of the quality of Gsell's work and of his method of approaching his subject. Consequently, it may be of most service here to give a brief survey of the volume before us. The main topics which it covers are the economic, intellectual, and religious life of Carthage, and the rôle which she played in history. The material prosperity of Carthage, as everyone knows, depended largely on agriculture and commerce. Her progress in agriculture is illustrated by Mago's twenty-eight books on this subject, which were not only turned into Greek, but also enjoyed the distinction of being translated into Latin by order of the Roman senate, and later still were used by the Arabs. The agricultural produce of Carthage did not include large quantities of wine and oil until rather late, but as early as 203 B. C. the Romans were able to exact from the Carthaginians immense amounts of wheat and barley (*cf.* p. 11, note 1), and in the later period Africa became one of the principal granaries of the Empire. The scientific cultivation of the soil seems to begin during the first Punic war when Carthage lost the contributions of grain which Sicily and Sardinia had previously made (*cf.* p. 10). The loss of other ultramarine colonies in the second Punic war gave a further stimulus to this industry. Farm-work seems to have been done largely by slaves and natives (*cf.* pp. 11, 47). The cost of their subsistence was small, and they were not liable to military service, so that diversified farming was

possible, and great stretches of country did not become waste-land or pasture-land, as was the case in Italy.

As artisans and artists the Carthaginians showed neither taste, originality, nor skill. In the early period they got their models and technique from Egypt, through the Oriental Phoenicians (*cf.* pp. 66, 86, 107, 198). Later, Greek influence from Sicily made itself felt, but Carthaginian figurines, the remains of their architecture, and the specimens of their work in the metals, in ivory, and in the precious stones, found in tombs, show that they had no skill in imitating their models.

Their primary interest was commerce. They learned foreign languages easily, adopted readily the manner of life of other peoples, were willing to live abroad, and were regarded by their contemporaries as shrewd and unscrupulous (*cf.* p. 112 ff.) The rapid development of their sea-going trade was materially assisted by the state, which opened foreign markets by force or by treaty arrangements. Where it was possible, Carthage forbade other peoples to participate in trade, and protected her colonies and shipping from pirates (*cf.* pp. 113-122). The Punic scarabs found in Etruscan tombs at Corneto show that the Carthaginians traded with Italy as early as the sixth century B.C. (*cf.* p. 148), and their mercantile enterprise survived the loss of their colonies (*cf.* p. 168).

Carthage contributed little of permanent value to civilization. She had no great writers. The books which her people read were written by Greeks (*cf.* p. 214). Even her navigators, for commercial reasons, kept their knowledge of geography to themselves (*cf.* p. 486). Her fondness for luxury did not stimulate art. Her principal contribution to ancient life lay in the fact that she prepared Africa for Roman civilization, and that the monotheistic and spiritual tendencies of her religion made the rapid spread of Christianity in Africa possible.

FRANK FROST ABBOTT.

#### BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

*History of Religions.* By GEORGE FOOT MOORE, Professor of the History of Religion in Harvard University. Volume II. *Judaism, Christianity, Mohammedanism.* [International Theological Library.] (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1919. Pp. xvi, 552. \$3.00.)

PROFESSOR MOORE limits his work to the religion of civilized peoples, and this second volume deals with "the three branches of monotheistic religion in Western Asia and Europe". Here, as in the first volume (1913), he exhibits a masterly power of condensation without sacrifice of lucid and interesting exposition, and a knowledge of the highest quality. This volume may fairly enough be estimated by the 279 pages devoted to Christianity, for all readers will be eager to see how Christianity appears in the framework of the General History of Religions.

As the preface explains, the purpose is not to furnish a sketch of the history of the Church or a history of Christian doctrine, but an outline history of the religion itself. The opening chapter conforms to this intention. Written with marked "objectivity", without dogmatic bias, almost with the tone of detachment, it gives a penetrating elucidation of the rise of the religion which only a really sympathetic intelligence could achieve. Nevertheless, beyond the period of origins we find hardly more than an extraordinarily skillful compendium of the story of the development of the Church institution, its dogmatic system, its ritual practices, its religious orders, its intellectual history, its relation to civil society; an excellent compression of what the best modern church historians mean to offer, with even less of the history of "the religion itself". The reason is obvious. The scale of the work did not allow Dr. Moore to carry throughout the kind of exposition with which he opened. Great personalities had to become names for the initiation of movements, their spiritual experience being crowded out by the need of chronicling the historical effects of it. St. Francis is a name for the originator of the Franciscan order. The great readjustment of the sixteenth century involves mention of Martin Luther. Just why Brother Martin precipitated such change hardly appears. Possibly restriction of space is not the only hampering factor here, for Luther's notions of justification and of faith are treated as notions of a logician engaged in scholastic argument. The rude genius of religious experience who reinaugurates the Pauline religious attitude and insight and emotion in a form which inevitably emancipated laymen from the sacerdotal dominion, this real Luther is hid from view. The scope of this digest certainly prevented the author from realizing his avowed intention. The compression must excuse a few minor details like the implication (p. 370) that the Unitarians of the Reformation century had not adopted the principle of toleration—but why indeed the statement (p. 361) that the Massachusetts colonists were Presbyterian in polity?

But grant a skill and accuracy void of any defect; add together in one volume or two a series of admirable historical abstracts—have we then a General History of Religion? It is convenient, it is necessary to have these perfect epitomes, but after this we need something more, something suggested by the now disused term "comparative religion". In the preface to the first volume (p. vii ff.), Moore reflected on the unity in diversity of religious evolutions. It is unfortunate that the detailed exposition should not constructively give us more of that comprehension. But even the individualizing account of Christianity itself might exhibit a deeper process. Is there not a series of tensions between the powerful ethical emphasis, due to Jesus and the Hebrew prophets before him, and the ritual sacramental interest developed from Paul and his Greek converts? Does not this explain the ever-repeated lay movements diverging from the sacerdotal form? Is there not tension between a Greek craving for intellectual construction and the fresh

stimulations of a religious consciousness not intellectual in its process? Is there not a tension between the Church accepting a place in the social structure and the passion for remolding society by visions of the reign of God? It is when the story goes deeper than the record of events and exhibits an historical process involving these interior dynamic factors that we arrive at a history "of the religion itself", and it is then that the analogies in other religions come plainly to view and possibly illustrate one common trend of evolutionary movement.

FRANCIS A. CHRISTIE.

*Histoire de l'Internationalisme.* Par CHRISTIAN L. LANGE. Tome I., *Jusqu'à la Paix de Westphalie, 1648.* [Publications de l'Institut Nobel Norvégien, tome IV.] (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons; Christiania: H. Aschehoug. 1919. Pp. xv, 517.)

*The League of Nations: the Principle and the Practice.* Edited by STEPHEN PIERCE DUGGAN. (Boston: *Atlantic Monthly Press.* 1919. Pp. xvii, 357. \$2.50.)

MODERN internationalism, as Dr. Lange understands it, is based upon nationalism. It recognizes the value to society as a whole of the continued existence of groups formed along national lines. It encourages the federation of these groups. It favors self-determination, democratic movements, and the rights of minorities. It recognizes the importance of the economic factor, and is suspicious of groups that profit from armaments and protective tariffs. Any doubt of the correctness of this characterization would be dispelled by a perusal of the chapters contributed by American scholars to the book edited by Dr. Duggan, where all of these ideas appear, and most of them appear repeatedly.

Dr. Lange has set himself the task of tracing the evolution of this conception in the medieval and modern world. The peace movement, whether it has been critical, arguing from humanitarian, ethical, or utilitarian grounds, or positive, emphasizing the solidarity of the human race, he includes in his study only as it has contributed to the growth of the international idea. Institutions as such he excludes, his aim being the writing of a history of ideas.

What interests him in the ancient world is therefore its contribution of the idea of the fundamental unity of the human race, and the Roman tradition of political unity. What use the empire and the papacy made of the latter he needs little space to indicate. How organized Christianity left to the heretics the doctrine of non-resistance and took for itself the rôle of militancy he also sketches briefly, pointing out the origin of Roosevelt's doctrine of righteous war in the formulas worked out by Augustine and Aquinas. The greater part of the volume is devoted to a careful analysis of the writings of individual thinkers, and the extensive citations from works not easily obtainable are of great value. The author rescues Antonio Marini from undeserved obscurity,



and finds the value of Peter Dubois's contribution not so much in his scheme for arbitration as in his recognition of the necessity of some unifying principle to prevent anarchy among sovereign states. Without discussing in detail the great use made of arbitration in the Middle Ages, he draws attention to the coincidence of its desuetude and the emergence of the great powers.

For the failure of the cosmopolitan humanists to interest themselves in the international problem Dr. Lange finds some compensation in the modern tone of their criticisms of war. He gives due credit to the sects also for keeping alive the pacifist tradition, although with regard to the Anabaptists he places too great confidence in Belfort Bax, and errs in attributing to the Fifth Monarchy men as a whole the pacifism which was championed by some individual members of the sect.

An interesting connection is made between the beginnings of international law and the criticism of war on moral grounds. Attention is called to the enunciation by Gentilis of many of the principles that characterize modern internationalism, and in connection with Grotius the question is raised whether the recognition of the principle of neutrality, and the elaboration of regulations for war, have not hindered rather than helped the development of internationalism. On the other hand Dr. Lange demonstrates how the criticisms of war engendered during the period of religious wars by a realization of the futility of the sacrifices war entails, passed over into schemes for international organization which would make such sacrifices unnecessary. The services of Crucé in pointing out the economic causes of war, his provision for the enforcement of peace, and his proposal of a "moral equivalent of war" in the stimulation of productive activity, entitle him, in Dr. Lange's opinion, to the title of the first genuine internationalist. He points out how unfortunate it was that the school that followed Sully did not emphasize his recognition of the importance of the principle of nationality, instead of following the impracticable views which have helped to discredit internationalism.

This bare outline does scant justice to the wealth of material brought together by the distinguished secretary general of the Interparliamentary Union, whose happy combination of scholarship and knowledge of affairs especially fit him to make this valuable contribution to intellectual history and international thinking. The later volumes of his study will be awaited with eager interest.

Citations made by Dr. Lange from Campanella on the importance of nationality, from Johann Neumayer on the right of nations to free access to the sea, from Sully on freedom of the seas, from Victoria on the problem of backward nations, and from Crucé on equality of trade relations, would make fitting texts for chapters in the co-operative work which Dr. Duggan has edited. It was issued soon after the publication of the covenant of the League of Nations, and admirably fulfills its purpose of providing material for the formation of an intelligent opinion

upon the covenant and upon the advisability of its adoption by the United States. Not the least valuable part is the editor's introductory chapter, in which he shows the inevitability of the war under existing international conditions, and analyzes the more important provisions of the covenant. The political history of twenty-five centuries is brilliantly condensed into thirty-two pages, with attempts at international organization as a guiding thread. There is, however, no adequate sketch of the background of economic history to make more intelligible the economic problems which are ably discussed in other chapters. Notably skillful use has been made, in the chapter on essentials of a league of peace, of the history of failures of nineteenth-century attempts at international organization and control. The account of the history, implications, and possibilities of the Monroe Doctrine is a model of condensed statement, and the difficult problem of freedom of the seas is ably handled. The possibilities as well as the difficulties of international control as a solution of vexed problems are shown by men who had intimate knowledge of the war-time experiments along those lines. Altogether the book should be found invaluable as a clear, untechnical discussion of the problems and possibilities, for America, of a league of nations.

LOUISE FARGO BROWN.

*The Stonor Letters and Papers, 1290-1483.* Edited from the Original Documents in the Public Record Office by CHARLES LETHBRIDGE KINGSFORD, M.A., F.S.A. In two volumes. [Camden Third Series, vols. XXIX., XXX.] (London: Royal Historical Society. 1919. Pp. lvi, 165; 224.)

THE publication of this hitherto unknown collection of letters and papers is a notable historical and literary event. The only closely similar collection in print is that known as the *Paston Letters*, which were published first in 1787 but were not completely known until Gairdner's authoritative edition appeared between 1872 and 1875. Now after nearly half a century we have Mr. Kingsford editing *The Stonor Letters and Papers, 1290-1483*, as a companion collection. The Royal Historical Society is to be congratulated on this publication and on the selection of an editor. Although these two volumes contain only 333 documents, about one-third of the number in the *Paston Letters*, Mr. Kingsford is undoubtedly right in his statement (introd., p. xxxviii): "*The Stonor Letters* are next to the *Paston Letters* by far the most considerable collection of private correspondence of the fifteenth century which has yet come to light."

The first documents in the collection, belonging to the reigns of Edward I. and Edward II., show us the Stonor family established as landowners at or near the village of Stonor in Oxfordshire, bordering on Bucks. The first really prominent and important member of the

family seems to have been Sir John de Stonor (*ca.* 1285–1354) who was chief justice of the common pleas for some twenty-five years during the reigns of Edward II. and Edward III. Several interesting letters in Norman-French and Latin from exalted personages show him to have been of considerable importance in law and in diplomacy. He seems to have carefully avoided extreme partizanship and was successively in favor with Edward II. and the Despensers, Queen Isabella and Mortimer, and Edward III. Also he appears to have been a shrewd business man, accumulating estates in various counties by royal grants, inheritance, two marriages, and other means. At his death, in 1354, the family were well provided with houses and lands in the south of England and had an established position as wealthy country gentry. The eldest of the chief justice's six sons, John de Stonor the second, died in 1364, and his young son, Edmund de Stonor, became the ward of Isabella, countess of Bedford, daughter of Edward III. This member of the Stonor family served later as sheriff of Oxfordshire and Berks, as county representative in Parliament, and as a member of various royal commissions. Over thirty of the documents and letters in the collection belong to his time (nos. 6–40). Most of these relate to his duties as sheriff, but among them is an interesting description of a fourteenth-century school (no. 30), a begging letter from an Oxford scholar (no. 31), and an account of household expenses (no. 19).

The second important group of Stonor correspondence has to do with the grandson of Edmund de Stonor, the first Thomas de Stonor, who flourished under Henry V. and Henry VI. There are fifteen important documents and letters dated between 1417 and 1431. Thomas de Stonor was a friend of the Chaucer family, and his career was that of a well-to-do country gentleman. He sat in six parliaments and twice served as sheriff. Also he appears to have acted as a royal commissioner and as a justice. For the first time the private letters are in English instead of Norman-French, though the documents are in Latin. There are receivers' and bailiffs' accounts, leases and indentures, accounts of funeral expenses, inventories, letters in regard to disputes over lands, Thomas de Stonor's interesting will, household accounts of his wife, and an agreement for the maintenance and education of his daughter Isabel. These documents throw valuable light on the social and economic life of the early fifteenth century.

The third portion of the *Stonor Letters* consists of eighty-seven documents, mostly private letters, having to do with Thomas Stonor the second (1424–1474), who flourished under Henry VI. and Edward IV. and was apparently *persona grata* with both Lancastrians and Yorkists. His wife, Joan of Normandy, appears to have been a natural daughter of William de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, but Thomas Stonor stood well with the Nevilles and later with Edward IV., who commissioned him as sheriff of Oxfordshire and Bucks, and it seems evident that he was careful not to throw in his lot decidedly with any faction. The limits

of this review will not allow any detailed analysis of his correspondence, but it is rich in social, economic, and political materials for the period of the Wars of the Roses and is ably reviewed by Mr. Kingsford in his introduction. The letters and documents reveal the family life and the business and political interests of a prosperous landowner and country gentleman better than any similar material yet published.

The last group of documents in the collection relates to the life and affairs of the most interesting member of the family, Sir William Stonor (1449-1494), between the time of his father's death in 1474 and his own attainder under Richard III. in 1483. There are nearly two hundred letters and documents in this group, which constitutes the most important part of the two volumes. Sir William Stonor appears as an ambitious landowner interested in the wool business, and dabbling, not without serious disaster, in the troubled waters of Yorkist politics. He succeeded in marrying the wealthy widow of a London wool merchant and engaged in the wool-trade himself. At the death of his first wife he married a west-country heiress and after her death secured the hand of the Lady Anne Neville, who brought large estates as her dowry. Into his worries over lands and business it is impossible to enter, but his correspondence furnishes a wealth of information of social, economic, and political value for the later reign of Edward IV. and the early years of Richard III. In an unfortunate moment Sir William broke the traditional policy of his family and sided with the Duke of Buckingham in his abortive rebellion in 1483. He was attainted and had to flee to Brittany, while his estates were forfeited. Probably at this time the muniments of the family were confiscated and deposited in the record-room of the Tower of London as part of the chancery records. Here they seem to have remained, although Sir William recovered his lands under Henry VII. and lived in high favor at court until his death in 1494.

Taken as a whole this remarkable collection must be regarded as an invaluable addition to the source-material for later medieval English history along social and economic lines. The public and domestic life of four generations of country gentlemen is illustrated in detail, with sidelights on national politics. The material on the office of sheriff is worthy of special mention, as is also that relating to fifteenth-century lawsuits. There are interesting references to the university at Oxford, and one letter is a contribution to the history of English medicine. In addition to the introduction, the editor has contributed a map of the Stonor country, a genealogical table of the family, an appendix of additional documents, a glossary, and indexes of names and places. The two volumes are, in fact, models of competent editorship.

N. M. TRENHOLME.

*Geschichte des Europäischen Staatensystems von 1492-1559.* Von EDUARD FUETER. [Handbuch der Mittelalterlichen und Neueren Geschichte, herausgegeben von G. von Below und F. Meinecke. Abteilung II.] (Munich and Berlin: R. Oldenbourg. 1919. Pp. xxi, 343.)

THIS is a very noteworthy book. It has no obvious family relationship to the masterly *Geschichte der Neueren Historiographie*, which the author published in 1911; it is not professedly a methodological work, which one might have expected him next to produce; and yet one may conjecture that in writing it he was influenced by the desire to demonstrate how the history of Europe profitably may be—probably must be—rewritten. In choosing the subject for this, his second big piece of work, it is likely that his interest in Swiss-Imperial affairs furnished the guiding thread, for he is a Züricher, who wrote his doctor's dissertation, in 1899, on *Der Anteil der Eidgenossenschaft an der Wahl Karls V.* Be that as it may, he has chosen to apply his methods to the most difficult knot of political problems in modern history, and any one whose head has whirled as he has read Ranke's much-praised *Latin and Teutonic Nations, 1494-1514*, will be thankful that Fueter made the choice he did.

The broad purpose of the book is to trace and explain the events which, centring in the struggle for the control of Italy, led to the establishment of the short-lived Hapsburg hegemony in Europe. The basic data might conceivably have been worked into the narrative, in the skillful fashion which our best American historians exemplify; but the author, improving immensely on the customary introductions of Continental historians, makes his methodological demonstration more obvious by choosing, so to say, first to present his explanations and then to trace the events.

Part I. (pp. 1-250) is devoted to a systematic examination of the elements of strength and of weakness underlying the military and diplomatic actions sketched in part II. (pp. 250-328). The first part opens with a general exposition of these factors: political *Kampfmittel* (diplomatic organization, "publicity"), military *Kampfmittel* (infantry tactics, recruiting, cavalry, artillery, the state and the navy, sailing vessels *v.* galleys), economic *Kampfmittel* (commercial conflicts, the ensuring of the importation of food, the incidence of cattle-raising *v.* agriculture on the supply of soldier-material), the influence of intrastate relations (of Estates upon financial policy, of ecclesiastical conflicts on the government's freedom of action), and the influence of "spiritual" factors (feeling of nationality, idea of balance of power, feeling of brotherhood of Christian peoples, dogmatic changes).

The bulk of the first part (pp. 51-250) is given over to a systematic examination of the position of each of the states, large and small, in respect to the factors just enumerated. The topics devoted to France

will show how each country's resources are canvassed: land and people; industry *v.* trade; internal political organization; army; navy; foreign policy; organization of foreign service, relations with Spain, with the Hapsburg lands, with England, with the neighboring smaller states, with the other states; political aspirations.

Part II. traces the changes in the European states-system from 1492 to 1559, making steady use of the basic material laid down in part I.

It is impossible, in the limited space vouchsafed to this review, to show how the author has illuminated the history of the critical years 1494-1559, but some illustrations are possible. He makes clear why the possession of Milan, which carried with it the control of Genoa's sea-power, furnished the key to the control of Italy (*e.g.*, pp. 3-4, 208). He shows that Sicily was the essential granary of Spain (*e.g.*, p. 96), and that Venice's "imperialistic" expansion into northern Italy was due to her dire need of a sure supply of food for man and beast (*e.g.*, pp. 158, 173). Similarly Switzerland's great export industry in infantry was due to their skill with the pike and necessary as a source of revenue to buy food for her population (pp. 233 ff.). The Reformation detached the cities from the Swabian League and thus destroyed one of the main supports of Hapsburg power in southern Germany (pp. 134, 136, note), and ultimately paralyzed Switzerland's political influence in foreign affairs (p. 234). The Turks furthered trade (*e.g.*, p. 78). The Hapsburg diplomatic reports were superior to the Venetian relations (pp. 138, 164).

The curious reader will look in vain for any reference to the Great War which was raging when the book was written. Many points will remind him of it. *E.g.*, German merchants smuggled their goods into Switzerland in order to share the special privileges which Swiss goods enjoyed in Milan (p. 210, note); Metz, Toul, Verdun, and Cambrai, surrendered to France by German princes in 1552, were not German in speech (p. 321).

The immediate use which will be made of this book will be the utilization of the wealth of bibliographical reference which it provides (pp. v-xii, and section by section). Books and articles which appeared as late as 1919 are cited, and the older secondary material is substantially superseded.

The reviewer would not be understood as believing that this stimulating book is novel in its method, for certainly some European and American historians have already written history with a similar grasp upon fundamental data, but no large tangled mass of international problems has before been handled with such a mastery of the *real* factors which underlay them.

G. C. SELLERY.

*Le Gallicanisme et la Réforme Catholique: Essai Historique sur l'Introduction en France des Décrets du Concile de Trente, 1563-1615.* Par VICTOR MARTIN, Docteur en Droit Canonique, Docteur ès Lettres. (Paris: Auguste Picard. 1919. Pp. xxvii, 415. 20 fr.)

THE purpose of this study, as stated by the author, is to discover the causes of the failure of the diplomacy of the Curia to obtain the official acceptance and publication by France of the decrees of the Council of Trent. The work now published is the fruit of long and exhaustive researches among materials found chiefly in the Archives of the Vatican, the Vatican Library, the Archives Nationales, and the Bibliothèque Nationale. In point of thoroughness it leaves nothing to be desired. The array of citations from original sources stamps it as authoritative. It is likewise happily free from any manifestation of a partizan or controversial spirit.

That the papal demand for the formal reception and promulgation of the Tridentine decrees in France was the occasion of a long and acrimonious struggle is well known to students of ecclesiastical history. But what is either less generally known, or, if known, less generally appreciated as the most significant concomitant and outcome of that struggle, is the gradual transition of the French clergy from an attitude of suspicion, not to say recalcitrance, toward the papacy—an attitude repeatedly manifested during the council, and the first few years thereafter—to an attitude of willing submission to Rome and ardent zeal for the enforcement of the “new discipline”, as exhibited in the assembly of 1615, when, defying the further opposition of the *Parlementaires* and relying upon the indulgence of the crown, the clergy, on their own initiative and without previous royal sanction, declared themselves “obliged by their duty and conscience to receive . . . the said council, and promise to observe it, so far as they can, by their spiritual and pastoral function and authority” (p. 385). In that act the author sees the first clear sign of a breach in the traditional relation of the Gallican clergy to the French crown. Antagonized by the implacable and, as they insinuated, venomous anti-papalism of the *Politiques*, whose “Gallicanism” they abhorred as “schismatic” and but a shade less odious than the heresy of the Huguenots; impelled by an irresistible centripetal instinct to the closest union with the head, as the one and only means of preserving the unity of the body; the clergy of France, consciously or insensibly, had for half a century been gravitating toward Rome, and the Estates-General of 1614 found them completely within the orbit of the Curia. “Sans paradoxe, l’on peut dire qu’en 1614 l’Église gallicane traverse une phase ultramontaine” (p. 346). But the action of the clergy never received royal confirmation, and the decrees of Trent never became a part of the ecclesiastical laws of France. Nor did their acceptance by the bishops, however much it may have meant for the inner



life of the Church, materially alter the relation of the clergy to the crown, still less abate the pretensions of Gallicanism. Twenty-five years later, the orator of the clergy, now become cardinal, menaced the papacy with the threat of a national council and even gave color to the rumor of a French patriarchate. The rock upon which the diplomacy of the austere Pius V., the peremptory Sixtus V., the conciliatory Clement VIII., had successively broken, still held firm; and the Declaration of 1682 attested the vitality of the Gallican tradition. Little effect did it have upon the royal prerogative and the Gallican liberties, whether the bishops accepted the Tridentine decrees or not. So long as the Concordat remained, the church of France was the church of the king. The wail of Fénelon was the acknowledgment of a bitter truth—"Libertés à l'égard du Pape; servitude à l'égard du roi". And the relation endured as long as the old régime. It remained for the Revolution—astounding paradox!—to break the royal yoke and set the clergy free (*cf.* pp. 401 ff., especially comment on Wernz, S.J., late general of the order).

And yet the struggle over the acceptance of Trent had not been fruitless. On the contrary, in the opinion of the author, it had given birth to "one of the most fertile ideas of modern times" (p. xiv), that of the separation of the two powers, the political and the ecclesiastical. In the Declaration of 1615, the clergy of France "for the first time awoke to the truth that the civil power and the religious authority are two distinct things, capable of developing side by side and acting independently of one another" (p. 346). It would be easy to rhapsodize upon the event as a supreme moment in the relations of church and state. It may well have been such a moment; but there is little in the contemporary documents to warrant the belief that the bishops were aware of it, or conscious of taking an historic stand. They were well assured of the acquiescence of the crown in their action, and there was nothing in their language or behavior that indicated a disposition to raise the issue of the respective limits of the two jurisdictions. A declaration pregnant with large possibilities? Yes; but, more's the pity, abortive!

But quite apart from what lay in the minds of the fathers of bygone synods, and whether accepting the author's interpretation or reserving a doubt, no modern spirit can fail to respond in unison to the irenic and optimistic note with which he brings his volume to a close:

One cannot deny that the peaceful and free exercise, side by side, of the civil power and the religious authority, should be one of the aspirations of the modern conscience. It is under this form, one can foresee, that the future will realise the independence envisaged and attempted by the Assembly of 1615; neither subjection nor tutelage, but mutual respect and tolerance and discerning sympathy. This future, let us hope, is not far off!

THEODORE COLLIER.

*Seventeenth Century Life in the Country Parish with Special Reference to Local Government.* By ELEANOR TROTTER, M.A. (Cambridge: University Press. 1919. Pp. xiv, 242. 10 sh.)

IN most respects the aims of this book—to describe the form and operation of government and the conditions of living in the seventeenth-century English parish—have been successfully achieved. An idea of the scope of the work can best be conveyed by the titles of the various chapters: the Parish as a Unit of Local Government; the Churchwardens; the Anglican Priest and the Church; the Overseers of the Poor; the Petty Constable; the Surveyor; the Labourers and Apprentices; the Rogues and Vagabonds; the Social Life of the Village Community and the Justices of the Peace. Thus we have another valuable special study contributing to an aspect of the period which even Gardiner's monumental torso left practically untouched and which still awaits a comprehensive synthetic treatment, based on the various monographs and publications of records which have appeared. Miss Trotter has a thesis, which, however, she never thrusts upon the reader after stating it in the preface; this thesis is the advantage which England has derived, in the molding of the political character of her people, from their long-standing experience in managing their local concerns, and the danger to be apprehended from undue centralization of the constitution and the administration. Thus, like old James Howell, she looks on the historian "as one who hath conversed with our Forefathers, and observed the carriage and contingencies of matters pass'd, whence he draws instances and cautions for the benefit of the times he lives in". Other lessons from the past might be drawn from her well-documented pages, such as the effect of a fixed standard of wages in preventing "that healthy competition which had some share in the production of skilled workmen", and the results of repressing freedom of speech, a repression not always confined to political and industrial Bourbons. It is interesting to learn, also, that even in those remote times alehouses were restricted in times of scarcity of bread.

While the author has read widely in all sorts of contemporary literature, her presentation is based mainly on north country sources, particularly the *North Riding Quarter Sessions Records*. However, her vividly realistic pictures would seem to be, to a large degree, typical of the local life and activity of the whole country. On the other hand, she is somewhat haphazard in her chronological selection of illustrations, which, together with occasional sudden transitions and bits of ambiguous phrasing, mar in places the clearness of an otherwise excellent exposition. Moreover, Miss Trotter might have been more consistent in her explanation of the meaning of archaic and technical terms; for example, the phrase "of the quorum" is used several times, and is not explained until page 214 is reached. The chapter on the Anglican priest is the least satisfactory, though we are informed that material is scanty on this sub-

ject; yet, curiously enough, Laud's visitations are not mentioned, while the works of Tatham, Overton, and Babington might have offered some leads. In the very full list of references on the justices of the peace, it is strange that Burn's exhaustive treatise is not included. Actual errors are happily few, though, so far as is known to the reviewer, the justices of the peace never tried civil pleas (p. 214), and there is a slight mistake in computing the food allowances of masters and apprentices (pp. 143, 161).

ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

*The French Revolution: a Study in Democracy.* By NESTA H. WEBSTER. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. Pp. xv, 519. \$8.00.)

THE subtitle of this volume is misleading; it should read, "A Study in Conspiracies". To Mrs. Webster, the French Revolution was a great conspiracy in which participated the faction of the Duc d'Orleans, a group she calls "the subversives", Prussia, and a group of English radicals with Stanhope and Priestley at their head. The idea was not new; Gustave Bord had written *La Conspiration Révolutionnaire de 1789*, Montjoie, *La Conjuration de Louis Philippe Joseph d'Orléans*, and Prudhomme, *L'Histoire des Crimes commis pendant la Révolution*, but their undertakings were limited in their scope. It remained for Mrs. Webster to envisage the Revolution as one vast European conspiracy against the French monarchy. The idea was certainly grandiose! The book has all the external marks of a scientific work. Four pages are devoted to a discussion of "Authorities consulted", and there is an abundance of foot-notes containing references to the sources. Mrs. Webster believed she had written a scientific work. "Notes and quotation marks", she writes, "have gone out of fashion", but even at the risk of giving the pages of her book "a ponderous appearance", she had "reverted to the old-fashioned system of notes", since her object was "not to weave fanciful word-pictures around the great scenes of the Revolution, but to tell as simply and clearly as possible what really happened". How did she succeed? The English press was, evidently, much impressed by the book, *The Spectator* declaring it "a veritable revelation to those who only knew of the Revolution from Carlyle's brilliant but profoundly misleading pages". It is a revelation even to those who know the Revolution from a first-hand study of the sources. The book does not rise above the level of a reactionary pamphlet. The point of view is that of Marie Antoinette, who looked upon the whole Revolution as a conspiracy, and it might even have been written by her had she but possessed the industry to accomplish the large amount of reading in the sources that Mrs. Webster has accomplished. The method of the book is as unscientific as the conception of the problem. In the first place, apart from such works as those of Bord, Taine, Biré,

Dauban, Wallon, Cassagnac, Mortimer-Ternaux, and others of the same period, largely literary in their training and reactionary in their point of view, Mrs. Webster seems to be almost totally ignorant of the recent literature—books, articles in periodicals, etc.—on the Revolution. Louis Madelin's popular volume she looks upon as "representing the last word in modern French thought on the vexed questions of the Revolution", and yet she might have spoken with less assurance had she read the reviews of the book published in the *American Historical Review* and the *Revue d'Histoire Moderne*. Her use of the sources is as uncritical as her point of view. All sources look alike to her. She does note, in her four pages devoted to "authorities", that as the publication of the *Moniteur* did not begin until November 24, 1789, the "numbers relating to events anterior to that date were written up afterwards", and then, forgetting what she had written or failing to see the bearing of it, she uses the *Moniteur* as a source for the period between May and November, 1789, instead of citing the sources that had been used by the *Moniteur*. She has not the faintest idea of what proof means in historical research. Her conception of it would seem to be, giving "chapter and verse for every controversial statement", and for this purpose one source is as good as another and even secondary books will fill the bill when they supply the information needed. It was a pure waste of time to write such a book, and it is unfortunate that it was ever published, for it is attractively written, has all the earmarks of a scientific work, and may do much harm, if it finds its way into public libraries and into the hands of readers incapable of forming a correct estimate of its value.

FRED MORROW FLING.

*Anglo-American Relations, 1861-1865.* By BROUGHAM VILLIERS and W. H. CHESSEON. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1920. Pp. vii, 214. \$2.50.)

THERE is just now somewhat of a rush into the field of British-American history, the works produced usually having the object of cementing good relations. The present work is of this type. Mr. Chesson has contributed a concluding chapter of forty pages, Voices of the 'Sixties, in which are brought together terse descriptions of American writers and speakers who influenced English thought during the American Civil War, and of some of the leading Englishmen who were active in the British Union and Emancipation Societies. The bulk of the work however is given to a presentation, on broad lines, of the feeling and understanding (or more often, misunderstanding) of the two peoples under the emotions and conditions of our Civil War. Here Mr. Villiers is very skillful and very just in delineation of national psychology. His work is based largely on the findings of the late Charles Francis Adams, and while indicating clearly various minor influences,

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the author correctly ascribes to the question of political democracy the great determining influence on British governmental and public opinion toward the North. Evidence that even during the Civil War men understood this is given in a quotation from an address of welcome by Henry Ward Beecher to Goldwin Smith in 1864. Speaking of his own tour of England Beecher said, "All classes who, at home, were seeking the elevation and political enfranchisement of the common people, were with us. All who studied the preservation of the State in its present unequal distribution of political privileges, sided with that section in America that were doing the same thing."

But while Mr. Villiers's general presentation of national attitudes is excellent and very well worth reading in both countries, the facts of history which are brought into his narrative are unfortunately not so well understood by him. They are even erroneously stated and hence lead to misinterpretations. One may pass over such errors as "Fred-erickburg" and "forty-three forty or fight", but to omit any mention of "right of search" in the *Trent* affair is to fail in appreciation of what amounted to an American obsession. A more positive error is the confusion of Seward's "Some thoughts for the President's Consideration" with the draft of the instruction to Adams, which Lincoln altered; another confusion on the critical moment in British policy as regards intervention is between the real "Crisis in Downing Street" (as C. F. Adams phrased it) of October–November, 1862, and the Lindsay-Roe-buck fiasco of midsummer, 1863. The two episodes are interwoven by the author as if they were one, and Earl Russell's position wholly misinterpreted. As regards Lincoln's emancipation moves, there is no mention and no understanding of his "border state policy". The blockade was not declared on April 19, 1861—rather a proclamation was issued notifying neutrals of the *intention* to blockade. These are the more striking evidences of a lack of sound historical study and are the more to be regretted as weakening the readable and just generalizations on the attitude of British and American peoples and governments.

E. D. ADAMS.

✓ 6 *Die Deutsche Geschichtschreibung von den Befreiungskriegen bis zu unseren Tagen: Geschichte und Kulturgeschichte.* Von GEORG VON BELOW. (Leipzig: Quelle und Meyer. 1916. Pp. xiii, 184. M. 4.40.)

THIS small volume from the pen of the eminent constitutional historian comprises two separate essays which in some degree traverse the same ground from different points of view. In the first division of the book (pp. 3–123) Below sketches the progress of German historical writing from the Wars of Liberation to the present time; in the second division (pp. 124–180) he discusses the economic interpretation of history for the same period, with special reference to the origins of the

doctrines of Karl Marx. The book is too slight and sketchy to afford more than a general survey of either field. It cannot in any measure fill the place of such manuals as Fueter, Gooch, and Wegele. But it has value as a rather definitely personal reaction to the course of German historiography during the nineteenth century.

The personal point of view emerges most evidently in the first half of the book, obviously written while German arms were still victorious in the Great War. The main thesis here is to show that the "romantic" school of political historians has contributed much to the upbuilding of German power. After concise treatment of Ranke and his times, the author traces the gradual defection of German historical scholarship from the liberal awakening of 1848, and its almost unqualified adherence to the policies of Bismarck and Wilhelm II. In the mind of the author this transfer of allegiance from the democratic liberal movement to the Prussian monarchy was fully justified by the need of a strong, united Germany. In this connection of course we hear of Dahlmann, Giesebrecht, Droysen, Max Duncker, von Sybel, Mommsen, Nietzsche, and lesser men, the goodly company ending with Heinrich von Treitschke.

The second thesis of the first part of the book has to do with the perennial controversy about the nature and scope of *Kulturgeschichte*, a controversy in which Below has borne a notable part. In this matter he seems to the reviewer to stand on more substantial ground. He endeavors to show that the real historians of German culture have not been the men who advertised themselves as such, but rather the workers in constitutional, economic, social, and cultural fields who sought through their special studies to interpret the general history of progress. Manifestly this part of the book is inspired by the polemic against Lamprecht and his school, although his name is studiously avoided.

In the second essay the author undertakes a less hackneyed theme and does some excellent constructive work. He endeavors to show that the economic interpretation of history as set forth by Marx and Engels in the *Manifest* of 1848 was not original with them, but rather derived from their reading of earlier and contemporary writers of the romantic school of historians. On the whole the case is well established, although at times the evidence is slender and not convincing. Below points out two sources for the emphasis on the economic factors in history which shows itself from about the middle of the century: the constitutional historians, and the local and territorial historians; and both of these stood wholly apart from the Socialist propaganda. Both of these groups, as well as the historical school of economists, have their roots in the romantic movement which, in the author's opinion, laid the foundation of German nationality.

The book is never unduly controversial, even when direct and earnest. But had it been written since November, 1918, it might have seen some things in a different perspective.

ARLEY B. SHOW.

✓ *Der Neue Kurs: Erinnerungen.* Von OTTO HAMMANN. (Berlin: Reimar Hobbing. 1918. Pp. vii, 240.)

✓ *Zur Vorgeschichte des Weltkrieges: Erinnerungen aus den Jahren 1897-1906.* Von OTTO HAMMANN. (*Ibid.* 1919. Pp. viii, 250.)

THESE two little volumes have already attracted well-deserved attention in Germany. Otto Hammann as chief of the press bureau of the Foreign Office, under Caprivi, Hohenlohe, and Bülow, was for many years in a position to know what was going on behind the scenes. He is thus a first-hand witness, and he has written his recollections carefully, temperately, and with little apparent prejudice. What he tells us, especially taken in connection with new information on the same topics in the writings of Eckartstein, Hermann Oncken, and others, merits study and discussion.

The most important parts of Hammann's work, as of Eckartstein's, deal with the relations between Germany and Great Britain in the last years of the nineteenth and the opening of the present century. We now know that in 1887 Prince Bismarck wrote a letter to Lord Salisbury which may be construed as a proposal for an Anglo-German alliance. Salisbury in his reply, while expressing warm approval of the policy, did not take up the suggestion. Both letters (unfortunately only in German translation) are published by Hammann in an appendix to his second volume. He has also given us an inside account of the sending of the famous Kruger telegram in 1894 which provoked such a fierce outburst of anger in England, but though he describes the meeting at which the idea originated and the despatch was drafted, he does not say just how much was due to the emperor and how much to Baron von Marschall.

Notwithstanding the resentment provoked by the incident, four years later the British government, in its turn, suggested the idea of a close understanding between England and Germany. Advances of this kind were renewed several times, in spite of official friction as well as of the popular ill-feeling on both sides provoked by the Boer War. The accession of King Edward VII. made no change in this respect. Contrary to what has been asserted by so many German writers, King Edward, far from assuming at the start an attitude of hostility toward Germany, was ready to make alliance with her. In 1901 the plan was definitely proposed and discussed, and it was owing to opposition, or at least lukewarmness on the German side, that it failed. The government at Berlin, while nominally favorable, balked the issue by insisting that Great Britain, instead of entering into a new and separate Anglo-German alliance, should join the existing Triple Alliance and that negotiations to this effect should be carried on through Vienna. This proposition the British government flatly refused to entertain and regarded it as a subterfuge to avoid giving a direct answer. Berlin was probably moved by a suspicion that it was being asked to draw England's chestnuts out of



the fire for her and by an unwillingness to break too openly with Russia. Even the suggestion of a treaty to stop French advance in Morocco was refused, in spite of a plain intimation that England had had enough of isolation and that if she could not come to terms with Germany she would have to turn towards France and Russia. We must remember that, at that time, owing to the Boer War, an alliance with England would have been highly unpopular in Germany. To-day, Germans are discussing whether the greatest mistake in the history of the empire was not committed in the year 1901.

To the relations between Germany and Russia, Hammann devotes less attention, though what he has to tell us is of value. We note his belief that Bismarck was quite mistaken in thinking that Tsar Alexander III. had confidence in him.

Many of Hammann's descriptions of people are interesting. He gives us a sympathetic picture of Caprivi, not a great man, but a straightforward, deeply conscientious one, overburdened by the heritage of his predecessor and beset by difficulties of every kind, not least among which were the bitter criticisms which Bismarck directed against all his actions. Caprivi's policy of friendship with England and his refusal to renew the Reinsurance Treaty with Russia have been so unpopular in Germany of recent years that public opinion has tended to forget his achievements, such as the passing of the military law of 1893 and the acquisition of Helgoland.

The single person we get most about is Holstein, whose extraordinary influence on German foreign policy and whose curious character are now revealed to a larger public. Hammann's picture of him, though unattractive, is not as disagreeable as Eckartstein's. While Holstein was in power, his name was unknown—in Germany as well as outside—to all but a few. It was in connection with the Morocco dispute, shortly before his fall, that his fame began to be spread abroad, but until recently little has been published about him except an article by Maximilian Harden. We know him now as a man who lived an absolutely retired life, going nowhere, only meeting the few people whom he chose to receive, and even keeping clear of the emperor. Yet, in his bureau, his influence was very great. His long experience, his understanding of difficult situations, his fertility of resource, made him invaluable to his superiors, who let themselves be guided by him far more than the world suspected at the time. On the other hand, his jealousy, his suspicion, his fondness for secretive—not to say underhand—measures, the queer fancies that he sometimes got into his head, must have made him difficult to deal with. "In general the first years of the chancellorship of Prince Hohenlohe were the time when he could have his way most easily."

We shall await with interest the third volume of Hammann which is announced.

ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE.

*The Literary Digest History of the World War, compiled from Original and Contemporary Sources: American, British, French, German, and Others.* By FRANCIS WHITING HALSEY. In ten volumes. (New York and London: Funk and Wagnalls Company. 1919. Pp. xx, 376; viii, 376; viii, 400; viii, 370; viii, 392; viii, 407; viii, 392; viii, 391; vii, 391. \$12.00, incl. magazine.)

THE sources used in this history are chiefly such comprehensive works as the *London Times History of the War* and Nelson's *History of the War* by John Buchan, supplemented by the voluminous reports and special articles in the daily press. Occasionally there is included a little information gathered from German sources, but not often.

In the introduction the author states that for five years he devoted himself to the task of "rewriting and adjusting the material, with constant substitution, modifications, corrections, and rearrangements in the light of newer information, so that what had often seemed a final revision was again and again superseded by another". Through these means the text has been cast in the author's language, but "in essence, it is more strictly that of others, as condensed, rearranged, rewritten, and, by a sort of melting-pot process, adapted to the purposes of a comprehensive and co-ordinated narrative".

Volumes I. to VI. inclusive are devoted chiefly to the war on the western front. About two-thirds of volume I. deals with the causes of the war in Europe and the circumstances surrounding the various declarations of war by all the countries engaged in it. In volume IV. there is a description of the circumstances which brought the United States into the conflict, with several chapters on America's war preparations. Volume VII. deals with the Russian front and the Russian revolution; volume VIII. with the war in Turkey and the Balkans; volume IX. with the war in Italy, in the colonies, and with the submarine warfare and war-zone decrees. As yet the war on the sea is inadequately treated, and the peace conference and the subsequent peace treaties are not included. Presumably these matters are to be described in the tenth volume, which has not yet been published.

This arrangement of material is perhaps as good as can be made. Almost any arrangement of a history of the World War proves awkward. In this instance it is difficult to keep in mind the tremendous influence which the eastern front had on the fortunes of war in the west so long as the narrative of these events is found in the later volumes. It seems especially awkward to introduce the United States into the conflict by beginning with the peace notes of December, 1916, leaving the submarine controversy previous to that time for treatment in the last volume.

As is natural and justifiable, the narrative of events on the western front overshadows that of the remaining areas of battle. The treatment of the Russian campaigns and the Russian revolution is adequate.

So too, probably, is that for Turkey. The entire Balkan campaigns, however, occupy but 152 pages, while the Bulgarian débâcle in September, 1918, is described in fifteen pages. Surely these events are as worthy of a lengthy treatment as, for instance, the visits of the British, French, and Belgian commissions to the United States, which occupy forty-one pages.

Interspersed here and there in the chronological narrative is a chapter on aircraft fighting or a few paragraphs concerning important personalities. Quotations or digests from special articles by favorite war correspondents are frequently included. Throughout the narrative the dramatic military details are emphasized. Indeed the internal political events in the various countries are nearly altogether neglected, except of course the revolutions in Russia, Germany, and Austria-Hungary. In this method of treatment there can be only a feeble attempt to evaluate the significance of the various factors entering into the huge conflict. The account lacks, too, as is natural, the simple direct style of Usher's *Story of the Great War*. Nevertheless it is a comprehensive piece of work well done and extremely well suited to the clientèle to whom it is directed.

The volumes contain a considerable number of the excellent maps familiar to readers of the *Literary Digest*. There are also numerous illustrations showing the nature of the war activities, together with photographs of leading figures in the war.

GEORGE F. ZOOK.

*Third Report of the Royal Commission on Public Records.* (London: Stationery Office. 1919. Pp. v, 46; iv, 131; viii, 111. 12 sh. 9 d.)

In 1919 Sir Frederick Pollock, Professor Firth, Dr. M. R. James, Sir Frederic Kenyon, Sir Sidney Lee, Mr. H. R. Tedder, and three representatives of Wales were appointed a Royal Commission on Public Records. Aided with great energy and devotion by Mr. Hubert Hall as secretary, the commission has pursued its inquiries with great intelligence in many hearings, and has supplemented these, as thoroughness so often requires, by scores of personal inspections on the part of its members. Their first report, dealing with the Public Record Office, was published in 1912, and briefly noticed in these pages (XVIII. 419). The second, dealing with such records of the courts of justice and papers of public departments as had not yet been transferred to the Public Record Office, was published in 1914 (XX. 455). Both were accompanied by valuable appendixes containing much useful information on archives, specially prepared by expert persons, and each had a further appendix containing the minutes of evidence taken at the hearings. The present report has similar appendixes, one of documents, amplifying the report, the other of minutes of evidence. In all these hearings, it is impossible not to admire the skillful questioning of Sir

Frederick Pollock and his associates, so directed as to elicit full information on all the points that should be covered. Compare it with any of the hearings before one of our senatorial committees, with its inept, casual, unintelligent, unfair, and uncivil questioning, and one cannot fail to be impressed with the superiority of that method of gathering information which consists in entrusting technical inquiries to technical experts.

After the securing of the expert advice, however, there remains, on whichever side of the water, much the same difficulty in getting legislative or executive authorities to make the reforms recommended. Little of the commission's programme of intelligent suggestions for improvement—in respect to the training of archivists, to better advantages for investigators, to the custody and care of departmental records and their systematic transfer to the Public Record Office, or to the appointment of a permanent board for record publications (such as all countries but Great Britain and the United States have instituted)—had been carried into effect when the Great War came. The war naturally put a stop to nearly all progress, and no one can be sure what steps of improvement the nation can now afford. Nevertheless, the members of the commission have courageously gone forward to shape their third report, and Mr. Hall has, mostly without compensation, they tell us, continued his labors of inquiry and completed the volume.

The theme of this third report and volume is the difficult subject of local archives and local records. A committee appointed in 1899 made a useful report on this subject in 1902, but the present commission has taken a broader survey and furnished more comprehensive information. Its report embraces records of local courts, of counties, towns, parishes, diocesan records of bishops, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and records of many less familiar local institutions. On the nature and contents of all such varieties of records, their custody, repair, and arrangement, their destruction and dispersion, and their public use, the report is a mine of information. An added section treats of departmental records relating to the war.

"English local government", runs the classical statement, "is a chaos of areas, a chaos of authorities, and a chaos of rates", and English local records reflect the chaos, with a fresh chaos added for each successive century. The situation is therefore most bewildering, and it is a great credit to Mr. Hall that he has kept his head through it all, and has pushed steadily and systematically toward a systematic and practical series of reforms. The commission's recommendations emphasize the necessity of providing for better preservation, better administration, and more convenient public use, by concentrating local records, not in London but in county or regional repositories built for the purpose, and under control or inspection by the Public Record Office. Resistance by Beadledom is to be expected, but the example of Continental countries is too cogent to be ignored. Even from the United States

argument can be drawn, for primitive as is the archive-system (or lack of system) of the federal government, many of our states and a few of our counties and cities have made excellent arrangements. We must wish that this remarkable report, and its predecessors, may receive from the new England emerging from the war a most attentive consideration. The present situation, what with losses and confusion and parochialism, is certainly deplorable. The reforms the commission suggests are rational, urgently needed, moderate, and practical. And every notable step forward in one country helps other countries to methodize their archival systems and to substitute order, security, and historical use for chaos, destruction, and neglect.

#### BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

*Handbook of Aboriginal American Antiquities.* Part I. *Introductory: The Lithic Industries.* By W. H. HOLMES. [Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 60.] (Washington: Smithsonian Institution. 1919. Pp. xvii, 380.)

STUDENTS of prehistoric anthropology have looked forward with keen anticipation to the publication of the series upon which Professor William H. Holmes has labored for many years. After perusal of the 380 pages of this volume the reader may safely assume that few students will be disappointed. In scope, in method of treatment, in the amount of material presented, the volume leaves little to be desired. Philosophic in tone, it is on a higher plane than any previous publication relating to the lithic industries. Professor Holmes's style is always above praise, and in this latest masterpiece there is no diminution of the sustained literary quality manifested on each page, from first to last. He begins, very properly, with the general anthropological classification of his former chief (Powell), now accepted everywhere. Under this skeleton outline he marshals his sub-divisions and proceeds with his treatise upon each in orderly fashion.

Holmes was long keenly interested in geology, and under that section devoted to chronology, he permits himself full sway with reference to the occupation of the American continent by man in tertiary, or even pleistocene times.

Chapter IX. relates to cultural areas. Number I., the North Atlantic area, may possibly be again sub-divided, since Maine archaeological studies indicate the presence of an extinct tribe, whose artifacts are quite different from those of peoples occupying the area between Charleston, South Carolina, and the mouth of the Connecticut.

From page 159 to the end of the volume, there is afforded us a very complete and technical study of quarrying and the manufacturing of implements. Much of this is new; yet there is a considerable amount of published material included. These pages evince careful research and study.

While, as stated, a full meed of praise should be accorded Professor Holmes for his masterpiece, yet one should hesitate to accept pages 23 and 24. In these Professor Holmes presents illustrations of a problematical winged form, and compares it with a Scandinavian axe. He also quotes Dr. Gordon in support of the theory that the winged problematical forms symbolize the whale's tail. Recently, a complete tabulation was presented of the distribution of thousands of problematical forms in the United States. That tabulation proves conclusively that the winged problematical forms are not numerous along the coast where the Norse were, but on the contrary are in profusion in the Ohio Valley and Wisconsin. Furthermore, upon the New England coast large plummets portraying whales occur; problematical forms are scarce. In western New York and the Ohio Valley, where there were no whales, these curious stone ornaments persist. Again, in the Red Paint Peoples' graves, the few winged stones found are short and have thin, and not sharp edges. These graves are supposed to be the oldest of the North Atlantic area.

The Baltimore classification of prehistoric artifacts is not referred to in the volume. Probably, when Professor Holmes presents his volume on technology, he will make use of this classification, which may be used in grouping stone objects.

In his summary of the evidence for and against the existence of glacial man in this country, Professor Holmes might have included Jacobs Cavern. In this rock-shelter flints and bones were found in solid breccia at a depth of five feet. It was not claimed by the explorers that this proved existence of man thousands of years ago, but the conditions in the cave were such that most observers thought the accumulation was not of comparatively recent date. The important flint quarries on Little River, Tennessee, from which came the eight thousand Hopewell discs, are not mentioned.

However, these are suggestions rather than criticisms. With the exception of pages 23 and 24, which are not in accordance with the tables and observations, there is practically nothing in the book to which searchers after truth in the field of American archaeology may object. Names of some observers are included who have not carried on as extensive explorations in certain areas as others who are not listed. Obviously, such were not intentionally omitted. The immense field to be covered, the multitude of papers, books, and pamphlets, the magnitude of collections—all these factors must be taken into consideration on the part of critical students.

Professor William H. Holmes is the dean of American archaeology. In his book we see the hand of the master-builder—the architect who is able to reconstruct the past.

WARREN K. MOOREHEAD.

*The Decline of Aristocracy in the Politics of New York.* By DIXON RYAN FOX, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History, Columbia University. [Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, vol. LXXXVI., whole no. 198.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1919. Pp. xiii, 460. \$3.50.)

IN contradistinction to those authors who have attended principally to the political history of the state of New York, the present writer in his investigation of the period 1800-1840 proposes "to penetrate beneath the laws and party platforms" and to "throw another ray of light upon the evolution of society in the Empire State". His work, accordingly, traces "the fortunes of a class, accustomed by training and tradition to the conduct of affairs, but forced to yield before what seemed to them the great disaster of democracy; it deals with their unpalatable compromises and slow liberalization, and the final welding of a business party appropriate to the conditions of America".

In the development of his theme the author draws from a wide range of sources and portrays vividly leaders, groups, tendencies, and movements. Special attention is directed to the thesis "that the two great parties of our history represent respectively two kinds of property interest, personal and real", a thesis which an investigation of assessments of personal estates in various counties fails to substantiate. There was, however, "an economic line that corresponds with the borders of political opinion". Support of this assertion is offered mainly by a valuable series of election maps of New York City by wards (1810-1840) with accompanying statistics, and by appended tables of "party politics and economic interests" which give data on conditions in Albany, Brooklyn, Buffalo, Rochester, and Troy.

Dr. Fox employs usually a lucid and vivacious style which engages the attention. There are, however, a few lapses into discomfiting awkwardness and ambiguity of expression. Such lapses may be perceived on pages 38, 41, 121, 132, 133, 159, 192, 250, and 292.

There are discernible in places, likewise, certain failures in nicety of historical discrimination. One may perhaps allow the attribution of "tough-mindedness" to William L. Marcy, but must question in the light of the letters of this wary and sagacious politician-statesman the characterization of him as a "bluff New Englander". Concerning the conversion of the Albany *Argus* to Locofocoism, as another instance, Dr. Fox appears to have accepted somewhat too trustfully the enthusiastic pronouncement of Byrdsall and to have overlooked letters of various members of the Regency in regard to the doubtful attitude of Crosswell, the editor, who finally became a Hunker opponent of Locofocoism. Indeed, deep rifts which originated in the Regency in the summer of 1837 seem altogether to have escaped the observation of the author. Of like nature is his failure to detect a trace of a Whig element in the original Locofocos in New York City, and to distinguish between the attitude of Leggett and of Bryant in the conduct of the *Evening Post*.



These minor deficiencies, however, detract little from the general high excellence of the work. The author moves with masterly ease amidst the intricate relationships of business and of politics in New York and fulfills the promise of his introduction. His book abounds in illuminating characterizations, acute observations, useful quotations, and suggestive philosophic conceptions. A few portraits add to the interest. To the special student of the history of New York this contribution affords indispensable information; to the more general student of history a conspectus of the history of the state between 1800 and 1840 on the whole sound and in many portions brilliant; and to all workers in the "social" sciences a valuable historical exposition of the interrelationships of business, society, and politics.

WILLIAM TRIMBLE.

*The American Colonization Society, 1817-1840.* By EARLY LEE FOX, Ph.D., Professor of History in Randolph-Macon College. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, series XXXVII., no. 3.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1919. Pp. 231. \$2.00.)

IN this volume the author represents the colonization movement as essentially a moderate, conservative, border-state movement which had an appeal to men in every walk of life, from every political and religious creed, and from every section of the Union. He divides the history of the American Colonization Society into two distinct divisions: the first, to which this volume is devoted, begins with the organization of the society in 1817 and extends to 1840; the second covers the period since 1840. This volume ends with the reorganization of the society in 1839, after which date the society, under the influence of the North and the East, was more aggressively anti-slavery in its programme and activities. In the first chapter, the author discusses at considerable length the status of the free negro and his relation to the slave and to the white population; in the second, the organization, purpose, and early history of the society; in the third, fourth, and last chapters, the relation of colonization to Garrisonian abolition, to emancipation, and to the African slave-trade respectively.

While the book contains much that is new and interesting, the material is very poorly arranged and there is much repetition in the numerous quotations. Nearly ninety per cent. of the citations are either from the *African Repository* or from the official records of the different departments of colonization societies. The book contains no bibliography and little or nothing to indicate that the numerous studies of colonization, emancipation, and slavery have been consulted. It would have been much more valuable if in this single volume the study had been carried on through the period of the Civil War. The author makes no serious attempt to tabulate the growth in number of members and in

the number of affiliated societies at different intervals, neither is reference made to such tabulations as have been made by other students.

The colonization movement is represented as one of numerous plans for bringing about a satisfactory and practical solution of the negro problem. The various classes that were affiliated with the organization at different times and the motives of each are interestingly described, as well as the relation of the colonization movement to the other movements that had as their chief object the solution of the negro problem. The influence of the American Colonization Society as an agency for shaping public opinion and for accomplishing any one of the things for which the society was created appears to have been overestimated. While the general work of the society was officially approved by numerous state legislatures, by Congress, and by the leading religious and philanthropic organizations, the financial assistance from all sources was always small. The total expenditure of the society up to November, 1838, was only \$379,644.15; and in 1838, the receipts for the year amounted to only \$11,597. The number of slaves actually transported to Africa was very small, numbering during the entire period less than the annual increase of the free negro population. The propaganda of the society, in the form of publications and speeches, was astonishingly small as compared with the Garrisonian abolition organization. The society did have many men of eminence affiliated with it, and, consequently, its influence in centring public attention on the slavery question was considerable.

The author attempts to prove that the average slaveholder in the border states as well as hundreds of those in the Lower South, before 1840, felt that slavery was not only an evil but detrimental to their best interests, and they were earnestly and eagerly looking for a practical solution of the problem. Colonization made a special appeal to this class.

The book contains much valuable information, and it is to be hoped that the author will carry the study on through the period of the Civil War.

ASA E. MARTIN.

*Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1916. Volume II. Correspondence of R. M. T. Hunter, 1826-1876.* Edited by CHARLES HENRY AMBLER. (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1918. Pp. 383.)

THE Historical Manuscripts Commission of the American Historical Association has rendered students an excellent service in the publication of this fragment of the correspondence of R. M. T. Hunter, senator from Virginia during the decade immediately preceding the outbreak of civil war. The pity of it is that there are no more letters of Hunter himself, who was certainly a very influential figure in the shaping of the issues that ripened into war. Professor Ambler, who has done his

work well, indicates that we shall probably never find the greater collections of correspondence bearing upon the secession movement. James A. Seddon kept no files. Lewis E. Harvie destroyed his papers in 1865. And we know that Yancey of Alabama and Rhett of South Carolina left no important stores of papers. The Hunter letters, now for the first time published, are but the remnants of General Benjamin F. Butler's destructive work.

Hunter's own part of this correspondence amounts to little, and what we have does not add particularly to what we know of him from other sources. But the letters of James A. Seddon, whom Roger Pryor pronounced to be the master of Virginia in 1860, Lewis E. Harvie, William O. Goode, and others do make clear the rifts and rivalries of Virginia politics during most of the decade of 1850-1860. Virginia was then a great state and one of the arbiters of national politics. In this period the Whig party collapsed and the new American party ran a fitful course. This left the Democratic organization the dominant force in the life of the state, whose boundaries were far-flung.

The more important group of leaders in the Democratic party were Hunter himself, James M. Mason, his colleague in the Senate, and John Letcher, first a representative in Congress and finally, 1860, governor of Virginia. Hunter represented the tide-water counties, Mason the northern part of the state, and Letcher lived at Lexington and had close affiliations with the west. The offices were filled upon the recommendation of these leaders or of their co-workers, Harvie and Seddon. Roger Pryor, editor of *The South*, was the newspaper voice of the group. The other and opposing set of politicians were Henry A. Wise, who came from the low country but who had stolen the hearts of the western Virginians in 1850-1851; William J. Faulkner of what is now West Virginia, an anti-slavery man in 1830 but a convert to the safe and sane view of slavery in 1850-1860; and John B. Floyd, son of that fiery John B. Floyd who fought for Calhoun in nullification days. When Wise won his spectacular campaign against the Know-Nothings in 1855 he suddenly rose to national fame and gave Hunter and his machine almost as much trouble as the Know-Nothings might have given them, if they had won. Wise always claimed that he was the maker of President Buchanan, a claim which disgusted Hunter in the extreme.

It was this alignment of the Virginia political forces which gave Douglas so much trouble when he was finally to make his great fight for the presidency. When Douglas defied Buchanan in December, 1857, Governor Wise published an ardent defense of the recalcitrant senator in the Illinois papers. This Wise did because Hunter had finally become a warmer friend of Buchanan than Wise himself had been, and because most western Virginians were generally disposed to be hostile to slavery and eastern Virginians. But although Wise was a loud-mouthed governor and disposed to take the front of the stage on every possible occasion, Hunter and Seddon and Harvie were the real masters.

Virginia declared war to the knife upon Douglas and thus helped Lincoln to the presidency. Hunter was himself a candidate for the Democratic nomination in 1860, and Wise must of necessity ask as much or confess himself second fiddle to Douglas. This rivalry blinded the eyes of the greater Virginians of that day and made the Old Dominion, proud as she was, impotent at Charleston. The Hunter machine was not strong enough to crush Wise and, busy all the while trying to do so, let the leadership of the South fall to such men as Rhett and Yancey, who blindly drove forward the chariot of war into the fatal cataclysm—few of the people dreaming that war and bloodshed were to be their lot.

Historians will find much in these letters to explain, if not to change, their judgments. In 1852 Seddon wrote to Hunter that henceforth the South must nominate and control presidents, not endeavor to set up candidates of their own. Edmund W. Hubbard, a member of the Hunter machine, said in effect (p. 141), give the North the honors of government and we may take the measures. David R. Atchison wrote in March, 1855, that seven thousand Missourians were then in Kansas to take part in the election (p. 161). And Isaac E. Holmes of Charleston declared that Atchison was the master spirit in the Kansas "revolution".

WILLIAM E. DODD.

*The War with Mexico.* By JUSTIN H. SMITH, formerly Professor of Modern History at Dartmouth College. In two volumes. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1919. Pp. xxii, 572; xiv, 620. \$10.00.)<sup>1</sup>

No event in our history has been so distorted by ignorance, prejudice, misinterpretation, and downright misrepresentation as the Mexican War. Passions inflamed by the slavery question and the angry political struggles preceding and following the war created an emotional atmosphere in which vituperation took the place of sober reasoning and slanderous assertion too often supplanted proved fact. Probably not since the ratification of the Constitution has there been less national *esprit* and team-work than during the four years of Polk's administration. The multitude of presidential aspirants in and out of the army, each of whom believed his own success dependent upon the destruction of his rivals' claims to honor and intelligence, the irritating jibes and innuendoes of the British press, and the natural bitterness of Mexican writers, have left a fog of confusion which American historians until recently have shown little disposition to dispel. The task of doing so, indeed, was staggering, and to form a fair judgment of the present volumes at least two sets of difficulties must be kept in mind. In the first place, with a controversy at every step involving national or personal reputation and character, only a fine sifting of all the material would give the work permanent worth—and the amount of material is enormous, and

<sup>1</sup> See p. 755.

largely in manuscript. In the second place, refutation (and to a less degree confirmation) of traditional historical verdicts must be set forth in plain language, with emphasis enough to carry the point, with such evident fullness, fairness, and detachment as to avoid the suspicion of partizanship, and with explicit and abundant citations to sustain the position taken.

Of Dr. Smith's industry and success in mastering the first of these difficulties there can be no question. He believes, and there appears no reason to doubt, that he has examined "every pertinent document" in the government archives of the United States and Mexico, including some state collections in both countries; he has searched the archives of Great Britain, France, Spain, Cuba, Colombia, and Peru; has examined collections of historical societies and of individuals; and has studied more than twelve hundred books and pamphlets and two hundred periodicals, including magazine and newspaper files for the period. The examination of 100,000 manuscripts and the assimilation of those needed for his problem is an accomplishment that can be adequately appreciated only by one who has worked largely with such material. To qualify himself for the military part of his work, he studied Napoleon, Clausewitz, Jomini, Moltke, Henderson, and other authorities, and visited every battlefield of the war.

Of the fruit of this labor—the success with which he has attacked the second set of difficulties—there will perhaps be divergent opinions. In the main, the reviewer agrees with his conclusions concerning every important question affecting our national honor, and believes that they will become, substantially, the ultimate verdict of history. These are: the honest intent of our government to maintain neutrality during the Texas revolution; our own forbearance and Mexico's inexcusable shiftiness concerning the settlement of the claims; our right to annex Texas without just offense to Mexico; the sincerity of Polk's desire to avoid war by the Slidell mission; the necessity for and essential justification of the war; and the refutation of the charge that Polk provoked the war to seize California. Knowing the scope of the author's investigation, it was to be hoped that his findings would be so clearly stated and so firmly buttressed as to carry conviction to every reasonable reader; but it is to be doubted whether they will have that effect. The trouble is mainly with the method of presentation, but is partly due to a subtlety that amounts on occasions almost to casuistry (see, in general, for typical examples, ch. XXXII.). To particularize, Dr. Smith has adopted a style, deliberately one feels, which could perhaps be most readily induced by prolonged draughts of Carlyle topped off with *The Education of Henry Adams*. It is allusive, epigrammatic, sometimes cryptic, imaginative, and dramatic; rarely simply narrative and expository. "Remarks", at the back of the book, frequently supplement and elucidate the text, but we are advised to read a chapter as a whole before looking at the notes. Much space is given to the beauty of the scenery, the rare

shrubs and flowers, the clear atmosphere, snow-capped mountains, and brilliant birds; and much more to apparently casual, but in reality, one suspects, studied, descriptions of the human figures of the book, in which even the flush of a face is noticed. One need not quarrel, it is true, with the ice and mint at the end of a substantial luncheon, but one prefers not to have them follow the cocktails. And it is to be feared that Dr. Smith has unduly compressed his book for the sake of these pleasant travel pictures.

It is difficult in a short review to show concretely, as fairness demands, qualities that permeate the book, but two brief paragraphs will illustrate a good deal. The first is an incident in the battle of Contreras (II. 109):

Finally a slightly round-shouldered man, with blue eyes, a sandy mustache and sandy hair, walked slowly to the front and looked at his watch. It was about six o'clock. "Are you ready?" he asked in a cheery voice. "Ready!" the troops answered with a meaning smile. He gave them a keen glance. "Men, forward!" he then ordered, for it was General Smith. "Forward, forward!" flew the command through the ranks, and ahead they went.

The citation supporting this imaginative passage is note 11. The same citation follows every paragraph for seven pages, and the note itself, covering the whole battle of Contreras, includes nearly a page of references and three pages of "Remarks". The second is an incident in the ratification of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (II. 246). The treaty had reached Polk on February 19 amid a storm of disapproval:

But suddenly the head of John Quincy Adams, as he sat in the House, dropped. He was borne to the Speaker's room. "This is the last of earth; I am content", murmured the venerable statesman. For two days he lingered, unconscious; and then he passed away. This tragic event had a deep effect. There fell a hush, as when snow descends upon the city pavement. The sessions of Congress were suspended. Senators were prevented from announcing their positions hastily. And when discussion began once more, it was resumed with a new feeling of seriousness, a new sense of responsibility.

This is undeniably dramatic, but if Adams's death did have the effect which the author categorically asserts, the fact is worth a reference, and there is no citation in note 21, which covers also the preceding paragraph, to support the assertion.

The problem of references gave the author much difficulty; and while most scholars will sympathize with his perplexity, on account of his multitudinous sources, the system which he adopted will not seem to them a happy solution. With the utmost confidence in Dr. Smith's fairness, accuracy, and impartiality, they will want greater explicitness than is afforded by a single reference index, often repeated for many paragraphs, to a large group of titles. This is not to say that less general citations are never made, but they are the exception and not the

rule. The matter becomes serious when one doubts the accuracy of a conclusion—as inevitably many must in a subject bristling with controversy. The writer confesses to uneasiness at the eternal rightness of Scott, and the complete rehabilitation of Trist. Not once throughout the book is Scott at fault. Once, indeed, misinformation caused him to change a plan suddenly and order a movement which unexpectedly encountered a concealed fort and strong resistance; but here he “did what we know it had not been his intention to do” (II. 113–115). The law of averages warns against such perfection.

Most of this discussion may be reduced to the statement that the reviewer is disappointed, because it seems to him that Dr. Smith has not accomplished once for all the results that his immense labor and impressive grasp of the subject would have enabled him to do had he written with more regard to the necessary limitations of his readers. It would be a grievous error, however, to infer that he has not produced a notable book. He has settled some problems finally—for example, the quibble over whether the Herrero government consented to receive a commissioner *ad hoc* or an envoy with plenary authority (I. 91–96, 436–438); he has given us chapters on the navy, finance, politics, and foreign relations during the war which will satisfy the most captious; his analysis of Mexican politics and politicians, while not *simpático*, is keen and accurate; and he has gone very far toward putting the capstone to that readjustment of our ideas concerning the early relations between the United States and Mexico which Edward Gaylord Bourne inaugurated in these pages just twenty years ago.<sup>1</sup> One may not always agree with the author, but very few will be rash enough to neglect him.

EUGENE C. BARKER.

*The Life of General Ely S. Parker, Last Grand Sachem of the Iroquois and General Grant's Military Secretary.* By ARTHUR C. PARKER, State Archaeologist of New York. [Buffalo Historical Society, Publications, vol. XXIII.] (Buffalo: the Society. 1919. Pp. xiv, 346. \$5.00.)

THE Buffalo Historical Society has placed under obligation all students interested in biographical matters relating to the Seneca-Iroquois of New York state by the publication of volume XXIII. of their series of memoirs, *The Life of General Ely Samuel Parker* by Mr. Arthur Caswell Parker, whose excellent work in archaeology has, perhaps, a greater value to humanity than the deeds of the subject he so ably expounds.

The six Iroquois tribes or nations of New York state have produced many notable characters in warfare, oratory, diplomacy, statecraft, and in the poetry and philosophy of myth and religion. The ancestors of

<sup>1</sup> “The United States and Mexico, 1847–1848”, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, V. 491–502 (April, 1900).



General Parker were of mixed Seneca-Iroquoian blood. And his noteworthy career shows the responsiveness and adaptability of the Iroquoian mentality to the exigencies of the new conditions of life superinduced by the advent of European peoples and cultures. Much in his staunch character General Parker owed to the molding influence of the fundamental principles and institutions of the federal government of these Iroquoian tribes—the disciplines concerning peace and health, justice and righteousness, authority and spiritual integrity.

The author of the volume has set the life of his distinguished kinsman in an interesting background of instructive and little known facts and reminiscences in the lives of a number of persons, chiefly kindred of his subject, who measurably affected the life or emphasized the work of General Parker. The volume will well repay careful reading.

I will take up the remaining space in pointing out some erroneous and misleading statements of general import. The signification of the name of the chiefship which General Parker held, is "He holds the doorflap up", but not "The Doorkeeper" and much less, "The Keeper of the Western Door". There was no "western" or "eastern" door to the Iroquois federal council lodge. Its official name is "The Great Black Door".

Some time subsequent to the establishment of the league, an amendment to the federal constitution was adopted by the federal council, which provided for the admission as members of the federal council of two recalcitrant Seneca war-chiefs who had not before that time joined the league, although they had large bodies of kindred under their sway. Their federal chiefship names are Deyonin'hogā'wēn' and Ganon'gei'dā'-hwi', respectively. The signification of the latter is the "Griller" or the "Broiler". These two are political cousins. In addition to their duties as members of the federal council, others of an administrative character were imposed on them and their successors in office. And the name of the "Broiler" properly stands last in the roll of federal chieftains, and not that of his political cousin. To Deyonin'hogā'we" all propositions and communications of alien tribes or peoples must be made directly. But he and the "Griller" jointly must ascertain the true nature of such communications before bringing them before the federal council. Their administrative duties are approximately those pertaining to modern portfolios of state and war, respectively. It was the duty of the "Griller", if the two political cousins upon careful scrutiny found the proposals of an alien embassy based upon treachery or treason, to broil, literally, the devoted member or members of such an embassy. At the back figuratively of the "Griller" stood "the warriors, the women and the children".

It is unfortunate that the author has used the word "sachem" as the designation of the federal chiefship of the league of the Iroquois; this name is of Algonquian origin, and does not accurately render the Iroquoian name, "royaner" or dialectically modified "hoyane", of the

federal chiefship; for the Algonquian peoples had not yet reached constitutional government, while the Iroquoian chiefship had a constitutional status; so that it would have been better to use the native term, "royaner", or its English equivalent, "federal chieftain".

J. N. B. HEWITT.

*Days and Events, 1860-1866.* By THOMAS L. LIVERMORE, late Colonel of the 18th New Hampshire Volunteers. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1920. Pp. xi, 485. \$6.00.)

COLONEL THOMAS L. LIVERMORE enlisted at seventeen years of age and was mustered out at twenty-one with the rank of colonel. He has been known for a long time by his work on *Numbers and Losses in the Civil War*, which has been one of the most valuable contributions to our military history. The work now before us is of an entirely different character and reflects the ability of the author from a new and no less interesting angle. Begun two years after the war and continued for several years with numerous interruptions, it is not an actual diary, although the author has freely consulted the diaries of several of his companions, whose experiences were for the most part similar to his own. The vivid memory of the author for small details makes up for the absence of a daily record. It is evidently written without access to records, and no other map than Bachelder's Gettysburg; it is not the studied effort of later years, and it must be judged mainly by its straightforward story of the gossip of camp and bivouac, its soldier prejudices, and its popular verdict, as such exists in the subordinate ranks of a great army. Naturally much space is given to the continual struggle to get something good to eat, and to seize the pleasures of the world. There is vivid portrayal and generous approval of the fighting, drinking, smoking, foraging, horse-racing, card-playing volunteer, with all his faults, if such they be, side by side with all his noble sacrifice. It is of course right to feel that such little wanderings may not be safely judged by those who sit in peaceful homes by household fires, who never committed sin, or felt a wound. Nor does the story forget the lesser breeds, cowards, skulkers, robbers of the dead, for an army is not composed entirely of heroes. Such have their place, along with unusual punishments, and "drumming out", and military executions. Free comment is made in criticizing others, both in praise and disapproval, but in the latter case the names are usually left in blank, which is of course best at this time.

As time wore on, the writer achieved higher rank and had opportunity to get a broader view of events, but not greatly so. At Gettysburg his duties in commanding a section of the ambulance corps called for great activity in many parts of the field, but the account is the most disconnected of all. How much we should have valued his studied version of the attack of Wright on the 2nd, and of Pickett on the 3rd

of July, about which so much fact and fable has been written, without satisfying some curious searchers as to what actually did happen. Although intimate with Haskell, no mention is made of the surprising statements given in the latter's diary published several years ago.

We are given high praise of Grant, Meade, Sheridan, Hancock, Sumner, Humphreys, and others with whom at one time or another the author had some personal or official relation under actual war conditions. McClellan comes in for criticism, showing that the writer did not concur in the popular verdict in that case—unless indeed he unconsciously adopted a later and revised estimate.

Students of the mental condition of the northern people in 1861 may find food for thought in the reference to a letter from "Sarah" asking him how many of the "dear negroes" he has freed. Interesting details of negro troops might have been of use if heeded in the World War.

EBEN SWIFT.

*William Peters Hepburn.* By JOHN ELY BRIGGS. [Iowa Biographical series, edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh.] (Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa. 1919. Pp. xv, 469. \$2.00.)

THIS volume contains a plain unadorned account of the early life and public career of an Iowa congressman who served in the House of Representatives at Washington for most of the years from 1881 to 1909. Colonel Hepburn was born in 1833 and died in 1916. He retired from public life after his defeat for Congress in 1908. Eleven chapters of Mr. Briggs's volume (98 pages) are devoted to Hepburn's early years, his services in the Civil War, and his return to civil life. More than a fourth of the whole volume (124 pages) is given up to the index and to "Notes and References", the latter containing many excerpts of interest and value. These show the author's sources—letters, newspapers, scrap-books, congressional speeches, etc.

The rest of the volume (a little over half its pages) sets forth the congressional career of its subject, dealing, among other things, with Pork Barrel Legislation, Pensions, Currency, Civil Service Reform, Imperialism, the Isthmian Canal, Railroad Legislation, Pure Food, the Rules of the House, and the Progressive Movement. These topics indicate the importance of the subjects of state with which Colonel Hepburn had to deal during his congressional career. It was an era of agitation and fierce controversy, of change and unsettlement of the old order, from Garfield to Taft through the excitations of Roosevelt and Bryan. The volume shows that Mr. Hepburn was a conventional congressman, a routinier of the old school, not much disposed to change. Clearly he was not a pioneer in politics, nor did he show qualities of real leadership or statesmanlike grasp upon the great questions with which he was confronted. He owed his influence in legislative history largely to the official committee positions which he held, which came to him from his

long service in Congress and his standing well with the party organization of the House. Yet he was not altogether a reactionary obstructionist, largely because influences beyond his control led him toward progressive ways. It was the "back fires" in Iowa, built by men like Henry Wallace, and the "big stick" of Theodore Roosevelt in the presidential chair, that brought the name of William Peters Hepburn, chairman of the commerce committees, into prominent connection with legislation touching pure food, railroad regulation, and kindred subjects. It is fair to say that he gave these causes official and conventional support, but the leadership came from the push behind. Roosevelt testified to his great services, but Roosevelt well knew how "great services" for good causes were obtained from congressmen of the "stand pat" variety, such as Hepburn was.

Mr. Briggs's volume reveals to us the mind and work of an old-time G. A. R. Republican congressman, who believed in "the glorious record of the Republican party"; that money panics "were due to Democratic tariff tinkering"; that money had "intrinsic value" and that "sound money", bimetallism, and the "existing gold standard" should all be maintained together; that garden seeds and government literature should be liberally distributed among his constituents; that railroads were private property, despite the grange decisions; that obtaining pensions for old soldiers and offices for applicants was the chief function of a congressman; that his district should not fail to obtain its share of the congressional "pork" in the shape of public buildings; that the old way of making appointments—rewarding men for party work by public offices—was better than the new-fangled civil service reform, and that the "hordes of hungry office-seekers infesting the corridors of the Capitol" were worthy of defense, because those were the very men congressmen had to rely on in their quest for delegates. Such, as Mr. Briggs shows, was a large part of the mind and life of Hepburn as a congressman. It was dreary enough. The wonder is that a man like Hepburn, the victim of a system, could yet be used as the instrument of so much good work in legislation. Mr. Briggs says that Hepburn's work upon the transportation problem "constituted his principal achievement and earned for him enduring fame". Perhaps so. But one wonders where Henry Wallace comes in, a real Iowa statesman and a man of intelligence and vision, who, as an editor of a journal for Iowa farmers, instructed Hepburn on the transportation problem, and prodded him to the undertaking of his task. It was men like Wallace working with Dolliver and Roosevelt, in ways satisfactory to Iowa farmers and shippers, that did the real work. Men like Hepburn were but the pipe-lines through which flowed streams of legislation, originated by other men and pressed to issue by the force of public opinion. The name and fame may go to the Hepburns, the official "authors" of the bills, but the real merit and achievement belong to others. Such are the lives of many of our prominent congressmen who are soon to be forgotten. Mr. Briggs clearly brings

this out, with or without intention, in this life of William Peters Hepburn.

JAMES A. WOODBURN.

*Our War with Germany: a History.* By JOHN SPENCER BASSETT, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of American History, Smith College. (New York: A. A. Knopf. 1919. Pp. 386. \$4.00.)

It is reassuring in these days of innumerable investigations and congressional committees to read a book that believes that the war was won and that the United States played a considerable and creditable part in the final triumph over the Central Powers. It is the story of our participation that Professor Bassett has here told very clearly and convincingly. The presentation of things achieved is modest—as properly so as were General Pershing's words in asking a place for American troops in the line of battle against the German onslaught. Taken all together the account of Professor Bassett is the clearest and best that has yet attempted in one volume the story of our part in the World War.

A little more than one-fourth of the book sketches the period before our entrance into the struggle. Another hundred pages or more tell the story of our organization, policies, and preparation as a nation fully conscious of the tremendous scale on which all things must be done. The last one-third of the book is an account of the land and naval operations that closed the war with American troops and ships in line of battle, and of the peace negotiations at Paris. In the preparations and in the conduct of the war and in the conclusion of the peace Professor Bassett holds that "the nation met the test with credit and in some respects with brilliant success".

In writing his book the author has made careful use of public documents and prints and has been able to fill out some points by reason of his residence in Washington during war-time and the personal information he gathered from those in places of responsibility. New sources will modify parts of the work, but the main outlines will stand much as this historian has dispassionately presented them. Minor errors there are both of commission and of omission: Barthelme did not leave with Bernstorff; Lansing is credited with the notes he signed but never wrote; not all the pro-German press was in the East by any means; the President's part in tabling the McLemore resolutions is unmentioned; the trip of the *Deutschland* which had a startling effect quite other than Germany intended is not mentioned; the President's note of December 18, 1916, is not distinctly brought out nor is the fact that the address of January 22, 1917, was not his first utterance on a League of Nations. Labor's resolutions of March 12 on the eve of the war are a ringing pronouncement that no historian of America's part in the war should pass over as all have so far done. The bold telegram of President Wilson to the threats of Jeremiah J. O'Leary in the midst of the campaign

of 1916 has its own significance. There is no good reason for hiding in anonymity the senators who under various pretexts held up such war measures as the establishment of the Food Administration.

Most of the above may however be considered merely matters of opinion. The chief complaint that some readers will make with justice is that the book is placid rather than penetrating or analytical. Perhaps such a treatment at this early date would seem to savor of bias, but Professor Bassett has been so admirably dispassionate in gathering his facts that one would gladly see him be even more of an historian. Certainly some of the characters responsible for America's part and policy were in reality more nearly flesh and blood than one would suspect from this volume. The actions and reactions of the nation between 1916 and 1918 revealed something more than America at war. The struggle over the ratification of the peace treaty which delayed the appearance of the book gave time for some reflection and analysis that might have been as suggestive as the final vote of the Senate. It is a perfectly valid reply on the author's part that he did not intend anything other than a plain tale of the outstanding facts, and no fair critic can deny that what he intended he has done. But he cannot complain if you still wonder why problems and persons did not tempt him into a slightly different treatment.

#### MINOR NOTICES

*Proceedings of the British Academy, 1913-1914.* (London, Humphrey Milford, n. d., pp. 538.) *Id., 1914-1915.* (*Ibid.*, pp. 592.) Though not so designated, these are the sixth and seventh volumes of the British Academy's proceedings, and, according to the Academy's custom of making all papers available in independent form, a number of "separates" from the eighth and ninth volumes have already been published. In the handsome volumes before us, many papers have to do with philosophical and philological themes, *e. g.*, Sir John Rhÿs's elaborate dissertation, in the earlier volume, on the Celtic Inscriptions of Cisalpine Gaul or the philosophical lectures given on the Henrietta Hertz foundation. Others relate to themes of literary scholarship, like the annual Shakespeare Lectures or the Warton Lectures on English poetry. Another series of endowed lectures, the Schweich Lectures in Biblical Archæology, shows its first-fruits in these volumes. There are also well-written obituary notices of deceased fellows, as of Thomas Hodgkin in the sixth volume and of Lord Cromer in the eighth. Of the historical papers in the sixth volume, all but two are papers read at the International Historical Congress at London in 1913—the presidential address of Mr. Bryce, Professor Firth's survey of the study of modern history in Great Britain and Professor Tout's of the medieval, Archdeacon Cunningham's paper on the organization of the mason's craft in England, that of Professor Silvanus Thompson on the origin and development of the compass-card,

and that of Sir Clifford Allbutt on Palissy, Bacon, and the Revival of Natural Science. Some of these have been described in this journal in an article on that congress. Sir John Sandys's commemorative address on Roger Bacon came a year later. But the historical paper making the largest new contribution to knowledge is that of Mr. A. F. Leach entitled *Some Results of Research in the History of Education in England*, a very interesting discourse, one which overthrows many ancient traditions respecting medieval schools, especially the grammar schools of churches, and substitutes sound knowledge, based on those thorough researches which have since given authority to his *Schools of Medieval England*. In the later volume the paper of most importance to the historical student is that of Mr. G. Elliot Smith on Primitive Man. Both volumes gain much from the breadth and wisdom that pervade Lord Bryce's annual addresses delivered as president of the Academy. Among the "separates" from the eighth volume which have already been issued two at least are historical in character, Professor Firth's paper on Raleigh's *History of the World* and that of Dr. R. L. Poole on Benedict IX. and Gregory VI.; from the ninth, we have a paper by the last-named scholar on Seals and Documents, a very interesting one by Mr. G. M. Trevelyan on Englishmen and Italians: Some Aspects of their Relations Past and Present, and Lord Bryce's broad-minded and noble lecture on World History.

*Origin of Government.* By Hugh Taylor. (Oxford, B. H. Blackwell, 1919, pp. viii, 259, \$4.00.) All theory with regard to the origin of government, of society, or of civilization, must start completely afresh with Darwin and the struggle for existence. We cannot, however, rely on the formula "the survival of the fittest" to account for human emergence from barbarism. This formula is but little more than a trick of speech. It can mean no more than fittest for the surrounding conditions. It is an example of what Bentham denounces as "impostor terms" which impose upon our reason by an appearance of explanation. However explanatory of physical advance, fitness for the conditions in which the struggle takes place, that is, savage conditions, cannot lead to a moral advance, rather the contrary, for in such a struggle the moral virtues put the contestant who cultivates them at a fatal disadvantage. The only explanation of civilization which can be based on this formula, and it is a thoroughly logical one, is the philosophy of Nietzsche. He asserts that by departing from the scheme of life marked out by natural laws, and introducing considerations of mercy, gentleness, and pity, man has abandoned the rational and intelligible end of existence and has entered upon a course which leads to degeneration and misery. From the strict Darwinian point of view, this conclusion is unassailable. But the Darwinian explanation of man's physical evolution is so established, that we must explain the origin of moral advance in harmony with it. Moral advance must arise out of the conditions of the earlier advance.



Nietzsche must be met on his own ground. What he really does is to apply a formula, correct in its own field, in a field to which it does not belong, because the field has been changed by the entrance of a new factor, essentially changing the environment. But the character of the survival is not determined by the struggle alone, but by the struggle under the existing conditions; to change the conditions, to change the environment, is to change all. The new factor affecting this change is government. Government appears at a definite stage of evolution, and all is changed. Government originates in the struggle for supremacy, in the deadly struggle of one individual with another for supremacy, which arises as soon as the group in any form takes the place of the individual as the human unit, a struggle determined by character. By placing dominant character in control of the group, a modification is imposed upon the struggle which entirely alters its nature and converts the qualities of moral character from socially destructive agencies into means for promoting the welfare of the community.

This is in brief Mr. Taylor's argument. The bulk of the book is taken up with its expansion and illustration. The argument is very closely reasoned, but the style is so simple and clear that the reading is a pleasure. The book deserves careful study.

G. B. A.

*The Psychology of Nations: a Contribution to the Philosophy of History.* By G. E. Partridge. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1919, pp. xii, 333, \$2.50.) An educational interest predominant in this book appears explicitly in part II., which considers the Educational Factor in the Development of Nations. Two chapters dealing with Internationalism and the School and two others on the Teaching of Patriotism are especially sane and well-balanced and will be suggestive to teachers of American history who wish to base their influence for "Americanization" upon something less superficial than tradition and prejudice. An "aristocratic patriotism" in which "glory, honor and fame have played too large a part" must yield to a more democratic ideal, one in which the common idea of country may be worked for by all classes.

The first part of the book treats National Consciousness and the Motives of War, and here we have more specifically a psychological analysis of nations observed in the environment of war. Rejecting such biological bases of war as the instinct of the herd and the struggle for existence in the sense of a natural selection "to the point of eliminating races", Dr. Partridge finds psychic differentiations as the most essential factors in the production of wars. To understand the motives and causes of war, we must explain the war-mood and this may best be accomplished by studying it in its relation "to all the other great ecstasies—of art, religion, intoxication, love". While "the central purpose or motive of war to-day is a craving for the realization of the sense of power", the war-mood comes from what our author calls "the *intoxica-*

tion motive", which is not a reversion or a release of primitive instincts but a product of the spirit of the times in which it manifests itself.

*The Psychology of Nations* is offered as *A Contribution to the Philosophy of History*, but only one chapter brings us into contact with the question which some modern "scientific" historians seem to identify with that subject: Is history in the large a matter of chance relations or is there a rational whole? The late Henry Adams through his *Letter to Teachers* raises the question whether a philosophy of history may not be made "scientific" by correlating history with physico-dynamics. Dr. Partridge recognizes that conditions of peace must be taken into account by history, "for it is the power of adaptation to the conditions of stable life, which are fairly uniform for different groups over wide areas, that tests vitality and survival values", but his study of nations in their "war-moods" offers a more promising solution than does Adams, for it emphasizes both in history and in psychology the *human* interest, which is the haven of all scientific erudition.

WILLIAM H. ALLISON.

*Histoire de l'Empire Byzantin.* Par Charles Diehl, Professeur à l'Université de Paris. (Paris, Auguste Picard, 1919, pp. xi, 247, 7 fr.) This is an excellent little book, from the pen of a master. In about forty thousand words, Diehl has sketched the history and civilization from the days of Constantine to the fall of Trebizond in 1461, and has made an interesting book of it. The only criticism is one that seems inevitable in case of such a brief treatment: in a few places a statement is not full enough to prevent a reader from forming a wrong impression. *E.g.* on page 156 he writes: "quand arriva le désastre de la [seconde] croisade, on l'imputa surtout à la perfidie des Grecs". If this refers to the defeat of the Germans, it is correct; but if it refers to the failure of the crusade as a whole, it is not; this was generally imputed to the treachery of some leaders in the kingdom of Jerusalem. On the same page he writes, "L'un et l'autre [Jean et Manuel Comnène] rêvèrent d'établir réellement leur autorité sur les principautés arméniennes de Cilicie et sur les États latins de Syrie, et ils y réussirent." The last four words suggest too much.

There are fifteen illustrations, reproduced from Diehl, *Manuel d'Art Byzantin*, and four maps, two from Schrader and two made for this book. The appendix contains lists of emperors and of important historical events, and an excellent select bibliography. The last gives about seventy-five titles under separate rubrics. English readers will miss, among other titles, the two books by Sir Edwin Pears and Frederic Harrison's interesting lecture on *Byzantine History in the Early Middle Ages*; these may have been omitted intentionally from such a brief list. There is no index. This book should be translated into English because it is the best history of the subject in any language.

D. C. M.

*Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen: Studie over Levens- en Gedachtenvormen der Veertiende en Vijftiende Eeuw in Frankrijk en de Nederlanden.* Door J. Huizinga. (Haarlem, H. D. Tjeenk Willink en Zoon, 1919, pp. xi, 568.) Deep is the debt of the "autumn of the Middle Ages" to those who approach its history from the side of art. Thus did Burckhardt when eighty years ago he gave us the conception and the name of "Renaissance". Thus did Henry Thode when a quarter-century later he led the attack on that conception and that name. And now from Holland comes this new study of art and life. Its author is no novice. At Groningen and later at Leyden he has done serious work in many a field of history. For years he has been one of the editors of the foremost of Dutch magazines. Even to Americans he should be known by the volume which a year or two ago he devoted to "the individual and the crowd in America" (see p. 558 above).

The present work, foreshadowed by an article in *De Gids*, grew out of the wish for a better understanding of the art of the Van Eycks and their followers and of its relation to the life of their time. At first this seemed possible from a study of the Burgundian lands alone; but it was soon evident that all France must be included in the survey. Wide is the literature drawn on; but it is especially Froissart and Chastellain among the historians, Eustache Deschamps among the poets, Gerson and Dionysius the Carthusian among the theologians, who with Jan van Eyck furnish the materials. They are made to illustrate for us how bitter was life to the Burgundian of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, how he strove to idealize it by the dreams of chivalry, by the exaltations of love, by brooding on death and adoration of sainthood, in ever-growing surrender to emotion and imagination. In Italy alone, maintains our author, did what we call the Renaissance come earlier than the sixteenth century; and much that we count Renaissance was perennially Italian. To date it back with every new-discovered foregleam of the younger day, he thinks absurd. But, even when Italy was already in full springtide, there lingered still in France and the Low Countries the medieval autumn. They who doubt it must reckon with this keen and patient study.

GEORGE L. BURR.

*À Travers Trois Siècles: l'Oeuvre des Bollandistes, 1615-1915.* Par Hippolyte Delehaye, S. J. (Brussels, Société des Bollandistes, 1920, pp. 284.) The first two volumes of the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum*, embracing the saints of January, appeared in 1643, the three volumes for February in 1638, but the beginning of publication of the Bollandist series may properly be dated from 1615, when Father Heribert Rosweide published, as the first-fruits of his great project, the *Vitae Patrum* (lives of the fathers of the desert, illustrating the beginnings of monachism in Syria and Egypt). An enterprise of high scholarship that has been going on successfully for three hundred years may justifiably celebrate

the fact; but the modest tercentennial celebration which was planned for 1915, did not take place ("le seul énoncé de la date nous dispense d'expliquer pourquoi", says Father Delehaye), and we have instead a modest commemorative volume, in which the present chairman of the group narrates the history of its labors. He treats of the design, of the successive laborers, of the materials, of the methods, of the controversies aroused in the eighteenth century, of the ruin consequent upon the suppression of the Society of Jesus and upon the French Revolution, of the restoration in 1837, and of the history of the modern Bollandists and their labors down to the outbreak of the Great War—and all with the utmost clearness, with much learning, with a bibliographical chapter that makes the little volume an excellent handbook for the study of the *Acta Sanctorum* and its treasures of knowledge, and in an entertaining style. Seldom has the history of a great enterprise of scholarship been so interestingly narrated. Would that we had more books of the sort! If this rich country is to develop any ambitions toward works of scholarship, at all commensurate with its powers of achievement, our young scholars should be given a much fuller knowledge of the history of learning. It is a pleasure to know that the Princeton University Press intends to issue an English translation of this admirable little book. It is to be hoped that a more widely diffused knowledge of what the Bollandists have been doing for human learning, historical and literary, may bring American aid to fill the gaps in their resources caused by the devastations of war.

*The Ready and Easy Way to establish a Free Commonwealth.* By John Milton. Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary by Evert Mordecai Clark, Ph.D., Instructor in English in the University of Texas. [Yale Studies in English, Albert S. Cook, Editor.] (New Haven, Yale University Press; London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1915, pp. lxxi, 198.) This is an excellent piece of critical editing. Mr. Clark has written an introduction of seventy pages in which he deals with the dating and composition of the tract, gives the historical setting, and analyzes Milton's ideal of a state. He shows that Milton owed much to the republican conceptions of the medieval Church, and not a little to the militant republicanism of Harrington and the "Rota Club", that he found much to commend in the spirit of the Spartan constitution but gave full admiration to the constitution of Athens and to Plato's political thought. From Cicero, from Polybius, and from Justinian he drew ideas, from Machiavelli also who interested him as an Aristotelian and as a practical statesman, but most of all curiously enough from Jean Bodin. The text of the *Ready and Easy Way* is so printed as to show the editions and corrections. While that text occupies thirty pages, the foot-notes that follow require four times as much space and waste little. A short glossary is followed by an appendix that traces the processes of revision and presents a summary of contemporary comment and discussion.

It is no easy matter to retrace Masson's ground and make a fuller map. Mr. Clark has done it and with distinction. He has dated the writing and rewriting more surely than ever before; he has explained Milton's attitude more adequately in the light of chronology. His notes not only reveal wide and intelligent reading in the political literature of the time, but they really serve to interpret the thought and the words.

To suggest that the editor has placed possibly too much confidence in Ludlow (pp. xxvi, 46), that his explanation of the rise of the Independents is too simple (p. 77), and that he fails in his long and excellent note on Fifth Monarchy men to mention Miss Louise Fargo Brown's monograph is perhaps to be hypercritical.

The monograph is so much a contribution to history that one is likely to forget its literary purpose. The editor's comments on the language of the time and on Milton's qualities of style seem just and wise but hardly so penetrating as his comments on politics. Mr. Clark writes with ease and clearness.

There is more of Milton worth editing, if it be done as well.

WALLACE NOTESTEIN.

*The French Refugees at the Cape.* By Colin Graham Botha, of the Cape Archives. (Cape Town, *Cape Times* Limited, 1919, pp. viii, 171.) In the small compass of this volume the author has brought together much biographical information in regard to the Huguenots who came to the Cape during the fifteen years following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The book is divided into eight chapters, of which five give a general account of the settlement of the refugees, one contains an alphabetical list of the French settlers, and two consist of documentary material. In the first five chapters, which together make up about a third of the volume, the author describes the motives of the Dutch East India Company in sending out the refugees, the political conditions at the Cape, the location of the settlers in the Drakenstein valley, the effect of their coming on the development of certain industries, notably the manufacture of wine and brandy and the cultivation of olives, the organization of the French church, and the rapid amalgamation of the French and Dutch elements, resulting in the decline in the use of the French language and the corruption of French family names. Comparatively little of the information conveyed is entirely new, many of the facts being in somewhat briefer and disconnected form also given in George McCall Theal's *History and Ethnography of Africa south of the Zambesi*, but as a separate study, based on original sources, the chapters have their value.

The alphabetical list of settlers contains biographical sketches of all the French emigrants to the Cape of whom any trace could be found. It is the result of several years of careful research in the Cape archives and is the most complete and reliable list that has appeared in print.

The documentary material includes a French baptismal record, 1694-

1713; a register of members of the Drakenstein church, 1715; a list of land-grants; and a series of extracts from important documents. The latter are printed in Dutch and are accompanied by English translations, which unfortunately do not always adhere closely to the original text and on that account are unsatisfactory.

The book contains facsimiles of fifty-four signatures of French refugees and two maps, one showing the extent of the colony in 1686, when most of the refugees came to the Cape, and the other showing the position of the farms of the French and Dutch settlers up to 1700, the year in which the immigration of the refugees practically ceased.

A. J. F. VAN LAER.

*Documentary History of the Armed Neutralities, 1780-1800, together with selected Documents relating to the War of American Independence, 1776-1783, and the Dutch War, 1780-1784.* By Sir Francis Piggott and G. W. T. Omond. [Law of the Sea series, vol. I.] (London, University of London Press, 1919, pp. xxxviii, 541, 42 sh.) "Out of the murk of distorted fact and perverted history sprang the Declaration of Paris", declares Sir Francis Piggott in the introduction to the "Law of the Sea" series, contained as a preface to this, the first volume of the series. This series is to be published by Sir Francis and collaborating editors as a justification of the traditional British interpretation of international law based on the "cardinal principle, which underlies the rights of the relations between belligerent and neutral", that "the belligerent will and may prevent the neutral merchant from giving assistance in any form to the enemy". The editors do not admit "that the fundamental rules of International Law are based on practice, however widely adopted", and imply that if the "long-buried" documents are brought to light British practice previous to the Declaration of Paris will have been justified, the armed neutralities and the "allusive hints" and discountenancing suggestions of British writers notwithstanding. They think that if the documents had been well known at the time of the Declaration of Paris it is likely that the instrument would never have been ratified by Great Britain. Sir Francis states that his purpose is to "clear away the fog surrounding the relation of belligerent and neutral, at its densest when the Declaration of Paris was agreed to".

The fact that the Declaration of Paris has been ratified by Great Britain and accepted by the consensus of international legal opinion has given rise to a rather wide-spread opinion differing from the contention of the editors. They seek to place the facts before the international lawyer. Students may form their own judgments in any additional light that these sources may throw. In addition to this already published volume the series is to include a *Documentary History of the French Wars, 1793-1815*, and the War of 1812, in two volumes; a volume of material relating to the Declaration of Paris; and two volumes on the Principles of the Law of the Sea.

The documents given in the volume enlarge considerably on Scott's recent compilation on the same subject, both as to the documents relating directly to the armed neutralities and as to supplementary material; but not enough use appears to have been made of the aid already furnished by Scott's work, for there are to be found in Scott eleven documents directly relating to the first and fourteen directly relating to the second armed neutrality, which do not appear in Piggott and Omond. The two works very handily supplement each other, however, and together give a pretty complete collection of sources for the two armed neutralities of 1780 and 1800.

SAMUEL F. BEMIS.

*La Prusse et la Rive Gauche du Rhin: le Traité de Bâle, 1794-1795, d'après des Documents Inédits des Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères.* Par Ed. de Marcère. (Paris, Félix Alcan, 1918, pp. 244, 3.50 fr.) This is one of several important contributions to diplomatic history recently published by Alcan. Its appearance on the eve of the Peace Conference is no mere coincidence. On the contrary, the purpose of its publication is naïvely avowed. These documents, the preface frankly states, are drawn from the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the pious hope that they may support French diplomacy in its defense of the supreme interests of France (*les grands intérêts de la Patrie*). The thesis is the traditional doctrine of natural limits, but the method of maintaining it is not unequivocal. A series of notes and instructions, hitherto unpublished and valuable for the historian of the eighteenth century, is used to furnish arguments for a diplomatic settlement in the twentieth. And it is the enemy himself that is made to supply them. Secret disclosures of Prussian policy as far back as 1756 reveal a project on the part of Frederick the Great of becoming king (not emperor) of Germany up to the Rhine, leaving to France the left bank to form the boundary of the two countries. This information is given on the authority of a German diplomat who had it from a former minister of Frederick's. In the editor's view, "it is not without interest to note that since the middle of the eighteenth century, Prussia contemplated without apprehension the cession of the left bank to France". And by inference there should be no apprehension to-day.

Setting aside editorial comment, these diplomatic exchanges preceding the treaty of Basel are valuable illustrations of the aims and methods of the old Machiavellian *Realpolitik*. Prussia, although a member of the Coalition, is seen to be secretly antagonistic to Austria, her ally. The Prussian leaders reveal proposed military movements to the enemy. British subsidies are still a matter of necessity, but when they are paid in full, the King of Prussia can begin overtures for peace with France, his "natural ally", and thereafter preserve perfect neutrality. Anxiety over the Polish question preoccupies Prussia and makes her ready for peace at any price. Prussian policy is thought to aim at the formation



of a League of the North, to include Sweden, Denmark, and France, and to be used to checkmate Russian designs on Poland. In the minds of some of the French negotiators of 1795, the interests of France lie in the same direction. In such an atmosphere the cession of the left bank is proposed and discussed. The whole doctrine of natural limits is succinctly set forth in a report of Cambacérès, on behalf of the Committee of Public Safety, proving, in the opinion of the editor, that "nature, topography, and the imperious need for security call upon France to establish frontiers strong enough to assure independence and the peace of future generations". Thus propaganda in 1918 is served by the negotiations of 1795, "jumping o'er times" and quite oblivious of principles which, enunciated in the French Revolution, are popularly supposed to have been finally realized in the Great War.

HENRY F. MUNRO.

*Balkan Problems and European Peace.* By Noel Buxton and C. Leonard Leese. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1919, pp. 135, \$1.75.) After trailing somnolently through three dull and weed-choked chapters of this brief book the reader, on attacking the fourth chapter, will suddenly find himself roused from his torpor by the startling perception that he has come out into the open. By a magical change, for which nothing has prepared him, he is brought face to face with the British negotiations with Bulgaria in the critical period of 1914-1915 preceding the entry of King Ferdinand's country into the war on the side of the Central Powers, and he is invited to peruse decisive diplomatic documents submitted and received by the special British envoy in the Balkans, who turns out to be identical with one of the authors of this book, Mr. Noel Buxton. And behold, Mr. Buxton, diplomat and author, has a grievance which, though entirely creditable to him, is by no means novel. He charges that the British Foreign Office (and for that matter the foreign office of every allied power) was totally incapable of seeing the Balkan problem as a whole, and that it "muddled through" with disastrous consequences to itself and to the Balkan states. The author, as the documents adduced by him sufficiently prove, did not suffer from the myopia of his London chiefs, and such is his faith in the advantage, nay, the necessity of a comprehensive view that he ventures, even at this late day, to sketch the plan of a settlement likely to lay the ghost of Balkan discord and to bring to the much-tried peninsula the blessings of peace. Of course the settlement for which he breaks a lance is not prompted by the cry of *vae victis*. It is planned with reference to a mitigation of ancient animosities in the ulterior hope of clearing the way for a Balkan federation offering guarantees of safety to all its members. Although the spirit of the book has received as little recognition from the peace-makers at Paris as the author himself while acting for Lord Grey at Sofia received from that distinguished diplomat,

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Mr. Buxton need not fear that time will force him to retract a single feature of his generous and yet practical proposals.

FERDINAND SCHEVILL.

*Armenia and the Armenians from the Earliest Times until the Great War, 1914.* By Kevork Aslan. Translated from the French by Pierre Crabitès, with a Preface on the Evolution of the Armenian Question by the Translator. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1920, pp. xxix, 138, \$1.25.) In his attempt to write a complete history of Armenia in less than 150 pages M. Kevork Aslan has produced a work which is not thoroughly scientific nor yet altogether popular. He sets forth the facts of Armenian history conscientiously, but without giving his evidence or citing his sources, and it is not always clear how much of the narrative is the result of scientific investigation and how much the tradition preserved by Armenian chroniclers. Furthermore, the general interest of the book is greatly impaired by the method of presentation. There are too many details and too many names, both of persons and of places, which are unfamiliar to the ordinary reader and only bewilder and confuse. The author is too prone to relate events instead of giving general descriptions which sum and correlate these events. His method is at its worst in the first and second chapters, which deal with the period extending down to the proclamation of Christianity at the beginning of the fourth century. While accepting the modern theory that the Armenians (Haik) are an Indo-European folk who came from Thrace by way of Asia Minor and absorbed the Urtians dwelling about Lake Van, he has introduced into his narrative so much semi-legendary and irrelevant material that no distinct impression of the earliest period is left in the mind of the reader. The best chapters are the fifth and sixth, which deal respectively with the Bagratid princes of Ani and the Armenian kingdom in Cilicia. While this portion of the work also bristles with names, the narrative is fairly clear, and a good picture is given of the quarrels among the great feudal lords and the resultant weakness of the nation.

In general, the book presents a convenient summary of Armenian history, and it is to be commended for its freedom from excessive partisanship, even in the narration of the events of the last few decades. While at times the author seeks to present his nation in the most favorable light, as in the omission of any mention of the outrages perpetrated by the revolutionary societies at the close of the nineteenth century, his book is free from any attempt at propaganda. Unfortunately, this cannot be said of the preface written by M. Crabitès, for this abounds in the rhetoric which is only too familiar to those versed in the propaganda-literature evoked by the World War.

DAVID MAGIE.

*The University of Pennsylvania, Franklin's College: being some Account of its Beginnings and Development, its Customs and Traditions, and its Gifts to the Nation.* By Horace Mather Lippincott. (Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1919, pp. 249, \$2.50.)

The university deserves a better history than this. Much that is included in this book can interest only a certain class of alumni; *e.g.*, fifteen pages of college songs, tales of janitors, of athletic employees, and of a saloon-keeper, who are described as "famous personages who have been a real part of the university's history since they have served her so well and left their impress upon so many of her sons". But a careful reading and rearrangement of portions of the volume will enable a student to realize why the university has had such a checkered career.

The first two chapters contain a rather mechanical account of the early history, short biographical sketches of the provosts, and a few pages on the history of the university during the last half-century. Two-thirds of these chapters are devoted to the period before 1800. Then follow four chapters, entitled respectively: the Seal, the Colours, the Cheer, and the Songs; Undergraduate Customs; University Characters; Athletics. The seventh chapter, To the Nation, is the roll of honor. It gives the names of the Pennsylvania men who signed the Declaration of Independence, who served in the Continental Congress, of those who died or achieved fame in the various wars, and of those who have been famous in civil life. It is a very noteworthy record, and will do more than any other part of this volume to make Pennsylvania men proud of the university. The last chapter, the Alumni, is misnamed; it should be, the Alumni Association.

This summary shows why the book fails to be a satisfactory history. The preface states: "The history of our venerable university has never been written", and the statement is still true. In fact, many alumni will prefer to read the older books, even if no one of them is "a complete history". The usefulness which this book might have is lessened by the lack of an index.

*Our Foreigners: a Chronicle of Americans in the Making.* By Samuel P. Orth. [Chronicles of America series, vol. XXXV.] (New Haven, Yale University Press; London, Humphrey Milford, 1920, pp. xi, 255.) This book, by a professor of political science at Cornell University, is chiefly descriptive; and, owing to limitations of space, considerably condensed. It cannot, therefore, take the place of the larger works upon immigration. But the condensation has been well done, and the result is a very readable account of the successive waves of foreigners coming to our shores. Especially good are the first two chapters covering the period prior to 1820; and the unique fourth chapter upon Utopias in America, describing the various communistic experiments. The negroes, Irish, Teutons, and Orientals each have a chapter to themselves; but all the more recent types of immigrants are mentioned, and are illustrated by excellent cuts from photographs.

In general the treatment is impartial. Judging from the subtitle, the author probably considers environment more important than heredity. At any rate there is lacking a certain ethnological accent needed to bring out fundamental considerations. Thus, the diversity of nationalities at the time of the Revolution is emphasized, but not their Nordic unity; nor is the recent immigration classified according to modern ethnological methods. The old fallacy that, because restrictive legislation failed to come into existence until 1882, the deliberate attitude of the country prior to that time was one of welcome to all immigrants reappears in this book (pp. 221, 232). Practically all of the "fathers" were opposed to any but the most carefully selected immigration.

In the thirteen pages devoted to the history of immigration legislation, the only feature of the present law mentioned is the literacy test, so that readers will get very little idea of the present limitations upon immigration. A short bibliographical note is appended. This does not in some cases cite the latest editions of the books mentioned; and, under Special Groups, omits two of the most important, namely, Fairchild's *Greek Immigration* and Foerster's *Italian Emigration of Our Times*.

PRESCOTT F. HALL.

*The Chief Phases of Pennsylvania Politics in the Jacksonian Period.* By Marguerite G. Bartlett. (Allentown, H. Ray Haas and Company, 1919, pp. viii, 150.) The subject of this monograph presents great possibilities for historical workmanship and interpretation. The home of the Second United States Bank, an advocate of internal improvements, a believer in the protective tariff policy, and a source of strength for the Anti-Masonic party, Pennsylvania offers a fair field for the partizan politics of the Jacksonian era. Every problem, national and local, assumes a partizan aspect; and an adequate treatment of these topics could not help being instructive.

The author relates in detail the attempt of the National Republicans to throw off their hereditary name of Federalists; the long struggle over the Second United States Bank during this period and its subsequent recharter by the state of Pennsylvania; the tariff problem and the skillful manner in which Jackson's handling of the nullification episode appealed to the citizens of Pennsylvania; and the debates in the constitutional convention of 1837 over the familiar issues of the day—such as the use of "the German language in the public schools, the treatment of conscientious objectors, the observance of the Sabbath, and the extension of the franchise". The work is based upon a study of the newspapers of the period and numerous manuscript sources.

The reviewer feels, however, that the subject as discussed by the author still lacks adequate treatment. Much valuable material in connection with the recharter of the Second United States Bank by Pennsylvania could have been found by a brief perusal of the Biddle Papers in the Library of Congress. The use of internal improvement projects

to further political party policies and the relations of Governor Ritner and Thaddeus Stevens would bear further investigation. The presence of a map explaining the parties' strength would have added materially to a better understanding of many laborious paragraphs. The absence of summary and index, and a confusing use and disuse of quotation-marks detract from the otherwise interesting account set forth by the author.

R. C. McGRANE.

*Charles-Alexandre Lesueur, Artiste et Savant Français en Amérique de 1816 à 1839.* By Adrien Loir. (Le Havre, Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle, 1920, pp. 108, 42 plates.) In the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle, Havre, France, is a great collection of drawings and water-color sketches made by the French artist and naturalist, Charles Alexandre Lesueur, during his residence in America from 1816 to 1839. Accompanying the sketches are descriptive notes written by Lesueur. This monograph by Madame Loir is an account of Lesueur's American journey, taken largely from his own notes, and illustrated by forty-two of his own sketches.

To appreciate the large part played by Lesueur in giving the scientific world more accurate knowledge of the fauna and geology of America, one must keep in mind a few salient facts concerning him. After receiving valuable experience in a scientific expedition sent by Napoleon to Australasia in 1800-1804, Lesueur was invited by William Maclure, eminent Scotch-American geologist, to make a scientific trip to the United States. The itinerary in America included the region about Philadelphia (where Lesueur was made a member of the Academy of Natural Sciences and also of the American Philosophical Society), New York, Buffalo, Pittsburg, and the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. For twelve years, from 1825 to 1837, he lived at New Harmony, Indiana, from which place as headquarters he made trips throughout Indiana, Ohio, Illinois, and down the Ohio and Mississippi to New Orleans. He was an indefatigable collector of natural history specimens, and delineator of picturesque scenes on his travels. He made frequent contributions to the learned journals of his day, several appearing in the first four volumes of the *Journal* of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia.

Very little about Lesueur has been published, either abroad or in America. It should be mentioned however that in 1904 the Société des Américanistes de Paris published as its fifth volume, *Les Voyages du Naturaliste Ch. Alex. Lesueur dans l'Amérique du Nord*. In that publication were included about twenty-five reproductions from Lesueur's sketches. There is little duplication, however, as to the sketches published, between that work and this one by Madame Loir.

The monograph by Madame Loir, fortified as it is by the *pièces justificatives*, and by a bibliography of the writings of Lesueur, as well as by the forty-two sketches previously mentioned, will appeal particularly

to all interested in early Western life. It is to be hoped a way may be found for publishing the hundreds of other sketches by Lesueur in the collection at Havre.

F. F. STEPHENS.

*Derelicts: an Account of Ships lost at Sea in General Commercial Traffic and a Brief History of Blockade Runners stranded along the North Carolina Coast, 1861-1865.* By James Sprunt. (Wilmington, the Author, 1920, pp. xv, 304.) Captain Sprunt's book is not well named. The first fifty pages relate to the general subject of derelicts, but are almost all quotations. Then follow one hundred pages on blockade-runners of the Civil War period, lost in the effort to come into Wilmington or go out thence, but in almost all cases burned, captured, or stranded, and not left derelict; but there are some thirty of these vessels, and their stories, recorded by one who knew all about them, and in some cases participated in their adventures, make very interesting reading, and something more than that, a really useful contribution to the knowledge of one important aspect of Civil War history. Then follow, filling the second half of the book, a series of "tales of the sea", of the same period and of the same general nature, which it was well to collect or record while so important and intelligent a participant in the doings of those days was still living.

*Cours d'Histoire du Canada.* Par Thomas Chapais, Professeur d'Histoire à l'Université Laval. Tome I., 1760-1791. (Quebec, J. P. Garneau, 1919, pp. ix, 350.) Those who have read the author's notable biographies of Talon and Montcalm will require no assurance that he is amply qualified, both by erudition and by temperament, to write a survey of early Canadian history. During recent years M. Chapais has been delivering at Laval University a course of lectures on the period intervening between the fall of Canada in 1760 and the enactment of the Constitutional Act in 1791. The present volume includes these lectures, "printed just as they were delivered, without modification in plan, or in substance, or in style".

The thirty-one years in question were replete with events of great interest. First came the era of military government and the departure of the *émigrés* for France. The extent and the nature of this exodus have long been matters of controversy. M. Chapais throws no new light upon it. Then followed the series of twists and turns which led to the passage of the Quebec Act in 1774. To these events the author gives particularly close attention. The invasion of Canada during the American Revolution receives a lengthy chapter, and the book closes with a study of Canadian affairs during the administrations of Haldimand and Dorchester.

The book is exactly what one would expect from its author. It is, on the whole, well-proportioned, accurate, and reasonably dispassionate.

More attention is devoted to matters directly affecting the Catholic Church than one would expect from a secular historian, but these lectures were delivered at Laval, where ultramontane sentiment still holds sway.

M. Chapais is so good an English scholar that he should have dipped further into the standard works on the American Revolution, particularly with reference to the events which led up to the invasion of his country in 1775-1776. His dependence upon Lecky for information in connection with this aspect of his discussion is too nearly complete, and there is an undue fondness for Bancroft, from whom he seems to have obtained in this, as in all his earlier writings, his clue to the main currents of American history during the Revolution and after.

All this, however, is incidental, and does not alter the fact that M. Chapais has managed to give us a clear and accurate survey of a difficult period. His industry in research discloses itself on page after page; his reflections are mature; he harbors no unreasoning animus against anything or anybody; and he writes with a firm and practised hand. The result is a well-seasoned book. Some readers will doubtless wish for a more unequivocal pronouncement on controverted matters than they can find in this volume; but M. Chapais is more of a historian and less of a propagandist than most writers of his race have been. It is to be hoped that he will carry out the plan of also publishing, in due course, his lectures on the later periods of Canadian history.

WILLIAM BENNETT MUNRO.

*Historia de la Independencia Americana.* Por Daniel Florencio O'Leary. *La Emancipación del Perú según la Correspondencia del General Héres con el Libertador, 1821-1830.* [Biblioteca Ayacucho bajo la Dirección de Don Rufino Blanco-Fombona.] (Madrid, Editorial-América, 1919, pp. 495, 8.50 pesetas.) Except for certain changes in the table of contents, this is a reprint of a portion of the fifth volume of the "Correspondencia de Hombres Notables con el Libertador" in the *Memorias del General O'Leary*, published by the government of Venezuela in 1880. More than half of the material is composed of letters of Héres to Bolívar, and the remainder, chiefly of communications with O'Leary, San Martín, Sucre, Santander, and other individuals prominent in the military or political life of the time. A few plans of campaign, proclamations, and other documents not of an epistolary nature are scattered through the text. Most of the letters are dated from Lima and elsewhere in Peru. The period covered in the correspondence with the Liberator ranges from 1821 to 1828, and in that with other persons, to 1829.

Tomás de Héres was a Venezuelan of good family whose affiliations at the outset of the struggle for emancipation from Spain lay with the cause of the mother-country. He enlisted accordingly in the royal forces, although his own personal sympathies inclined him in favor of



the patriots. Not until April, 1820, however, when he was lieutenant-colonel of the "Battalion of Numancia", one of the most trusted of the corps of loyalists, did the moment arrive for him openly to shift his allegiance. He and his entire command, which formed part of the garrison of Lima, then deserted to San Martín's army.

Held in high esteem by Bolívar and Sucre, Héres rose to the rank of brigadier-general and occupied in addition a variety of positions of importance, both military and civil, during the years that Peru was subject to the control of the Liberator. Later he served in the campaign that ultimately failed to keep that republic within the grandiose political structure made up of the Great Colombia and its two satellites to the southward. From the correspondence it would appear that during much of the time Héres suffered from poor health. More perhaps than many of his fellow-officers, also, he cherished the ambition of Cincinnatus. Even if he may hardly be regarded as one of the most eminent of the patriot leaders, the fact that he had been active so long in the ranks of the loyalists gives peculiar value to his statements and opinions about the events of the period between 1821 and 1829.

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.

## COMMUNICATIONS

*To the Editor:*

Dr. Barker has very courteously sent me a copy of his somewhat impressionistic review of *The War with Mexico*,<sup>1</sup> presumably to enable me to answer it promptly. Most of his criticisms are of such a nature that your necessary rules do not permit a reply, but I should like to cite vol. I., pp. xi and 406, and to mention three simple questions of fact. 1. He generously credits me with having visited "every" battlefield of the war; but the preface (p. viii) only says "chief" battlefields. 2. He calls "imaginative" a passage relating to the battle of Contreras (actually based on twelve first-hand sources); but, as he cannot have read all (if any) of these sources, how can he do so? 3. He protests against "the eternal rightness of Scott" in my narrative, and says, "Not once through the book is Scott at fault". But Scott is unfavorably criticized on the following pages at least: I. 197, 198, 477, 544; II. 59, 129, 147, 188, 284, 318, 390, 391, 401, 402, 436. Perhaps these three illustrations are enough. But Dr. Barker did not intend to misrepresent the book.

JUSTIN H. SMITH.

*To the Editor:*

I hope that readers who may be interested will examine the references cited by Dr. Smith and determine for themselves the correctness of my impression of his attitude toward Scott.

EUGENE C. BARKER.

<sup>1</sup> [Pp. 729-732, above. Ed.]

## HISTORICAL NEWS

From June 25 to September 5 the managing editor of this journal is to be addressed at North Edgecomb, Maine (telegrams to Wiscasset, Maine); after the latter date, at 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C., as usual.

Copies of no. 2 of vol. I. of this journal and of no. 2 of vol. VI. are urgently desired by the managing editor.

### AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Under the will of the late George L. Beer, the American Historical Association receives the sum of \$5000, to be kept as a separate fund, the income from which is to be devoted to an annual prize for the best work by an American author on European international relations since 1895.

At the annual meeting of the Agricultural History Society, in April, Dr. Rodney H. True of the Bureau of Plant Industry, Washington, D. C., was elected president, Professor William J. Trimble of the University of Idaho, vice-president, Mr. Lyman Carrier of the Bureau of Plant Industry, secretary-treasurer, with Professor Percy W. Bidwell of Yale University and Dr. O. C. Stine of the Office of Farm Management, Washington, as additional members of the executive committee. The memorandum of affiliation between the American Historical Association and the Agricultural History Society (pp. 386-387, above) was ratified.

### PERSONAL

Dr. James Schouler, author of a notable *History of the United States under the Constitution, 1789-1877* (1880-1891, 1899, 1913) and president of the American Historical Association in 1897, died on April 16, at the age of eighty-one. He has given an interesting account of his life, as well as of his methods, in his *Historical Briefs* (1896). Another work of some note was his *Americans of 1776* (1905). A lawyer and legal writer by profession, and for twenty years a professor in a law school, he wrote his American political history largely from a legal point of view, with less attention to economic movements than would now be customary, and he wrote it with some preconceptions natural to the son of a Whig editor and Civil War adjutant-general of Massachusetts. But it rested on careful study, extensive information, and independent thinking, it was fair in all intention, it was marked by much political acumen, it presented the general reader within a dozen years with the whole story from 1789 to 1861, for which that reader had long been waiting, and the style, though it was too picturesque and lacked sim-

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plicity and at times dignity, was piquant and readable.\* Therefore the book deserved and obtained high success. Personally Dr. Schouler was a genial and even lovable man, simple, cordial, and friendly.

Paul Fredericq, one of the most distinguished of Belgian historians, and for many years professor in the University of Ghent, died there on March 31 at the age of sixty-nine. Writing in both French and Flemish, for he was an ardent though liberal "Flamingant" (a fact which lent additional poignancy to the indignation caused by the circumstances of his arrest and imprisonment by the German government in Belgium), he had made his early reputation by an *Essai sur le Rôle Politique et Social des Ducs de Bourgogne dans les Pays-Bas* (1875), and by the first volume of a history of *De Nederlanden onder Keizer Karel* (1885). His later studies were concentrated on the history of the Inquisition in the Netherlands; fruits of them were two excellent volumes on the *Geschiedenis der Inquisitie in de Nederlanden* (1892, 1897), and a remarkable series, of which five volumes have hitherto been published, *Corpus Documentorum Inquisitionis Haereticæ Pravitatis Neerlandicæ* (1889-1906). Professor Fredericq was a high-minded gentleman of the utmost dignity and social charm. His imprisonment and harsh detention in Germany from March, 1916, to November, 1918, undermined his constitution. If efforts made to secure his release on condition of his coming to America, where a temporary professorship was promised him either at Cornell University or at Princeton, had been successful, he would certainly, we are assured by Professor Pirenne, have recovered.

Jacques Flach, the author of numerous historical works on a wide range of subjects, died on December 4, 1919, at the age of seventy-four years. His masterpiece was *Les Origines de l'Ancienne France*, of which four volumes have appeared (1886-1917) and a fifth volume is in press.

Henri Welschinger died in November, 1919, in his seventy-fourth year. Most of his numerous historical works related to the history of France during and since the Revolution.

Professor W. C. Abbott of Yale University has accepted a professorship of history in Harvard University.

Professor Ralph V. Harlow of Simmons College has been elected professor of history in Boston University.

Professor Arthur I. Andrews of Tufts College will be absent in Europe during the coming academic year, part of the time as lecturer in the University of Prag.

Dr. Verner W. Crane, of the University of Michigan, has been elected assistant professor of history in Brown University, with American history as his field.

Henry M. Wriston has been promoted to the rank of professor of

history in Wesleyan University, but will continue on leave during the ensuing year. His courses will remain in charge of Dr. William J. Wilkinson, formerly dean of Washington University (Tennessee) for another year. Paul Burt has been advanced to an associate professorship in the same department.

Professor Max Farrand of Yale University has been granted a second year's leave of absence. His courses will be given by Professor N. W. Stephenson of Charleston College. Professor Kent R. Greenfield of Delaware College has been appointed professor of history in Yale, and there have been the following promotions: Sydney K. Mitchell to the rank of professor; Clarence H. Haring to that of associate professor; John M. S. Allison, Ralph H. Gabriel, and Richard A. Newhall to that of assistant professor.

Professor Charles D. Hazen of Columbia University will be on leave of absence during the coming academic year, serving as professor of American institutions in the University of Strasbourg. Dr. David S. Muzzey of the same institution has been promoted to the rank of professor, and Dr. Austin P. Evans to that of assistant professor.

Professor John B. McMaster, after thirty-eight years of continuous service as professor of American history in the University of Pennsylvania, has, in accordance with the rules for retirement of that institution, withdrawn from active service and become professor emeritus. Professor St. George L. Sioussat has resigned from Brown University to become professor of American history in the University of Pennsylvania, where also Dr. Witt Bowden of the Carnegie Institute of Pittsburgh has been elected assistant professor of European history.

Professor Bernadotte E. Schmitt of Western Reserve University, after teaching in the summer session of Columbia University, will go to Europe to spend a year in study, mostly in London.

Dr. Reginald C. McGrane has been advanced to the rank of professor of history in the University of Cincinnati; Dr. Beverley W. Bond, jr., of Purdue University, has been elected associate professor in the university first named.

Dr. Paul Van Brunt Jones has been made assistant professor of history in the University of Illinois.

Dr. A. E. R. Boak of the University of Michigan has been promoted from an associate professorship of history to a professorship. Professor William L. Schurz, who has been in South America for a year and a half on a mission for the government, will return to his academic work in September.

Professor Clarence W. Alvord of the University of Illinois has accepted an election as professor of American history in the University of Minnesota.

Dr. James Howard Robinson, professor of history in Carleton College, Northfield, Minn., has been granted leave of absence for the year 1920-1921. He will spend the furlough in England, principally at the universities of Manchester and Oxford.

Professors James F. Willard of the University of Colorado and William A. Morris of the University of California will be absent during the coming year, engaged in research in London. Dr. C. C. Eckhardt will take Dr. Willard's place, as acting professor.

Professor Samuel F. Bemis of Colorado College has been elected professor of history in Whitman College.

Dr. Ralph H. Lutz, now assistant professor in the University of Washington, becomes associate professor of European history in Stanford University at the beginning of the next academic year.

In the summer schools of the various universities the following professors external to the regular staff will be giving instruction in history: in the University of California, W. E. Lingelbach and Morris Jastrow, jr., of Pennsylvania; in that of Chicago, H. E. Bourne of Western Reserve University; in that of Colorado, Clarence W. Perkins of Ohio State University; in Columbia, R. J. Kerner of Missouri, R. V. D. Magoffin of Johns Hopkins, R. W. Rogers of Drew Seminary, and B. E. Schmitt of Western Reserve; in Harvard, R. H. George of Yale; in the Johns Hopkins University, B. W. Bond of Cincinnati; in Leland Stanford, F. A. Golder of Washington State College; in the University of Minnesota, F. M. Anderson of Dartmouth; in that of Pennsylvania, E. C. Barker of Texas; in that of Texas, C. H. Ambler of West Virginia and A. C. Cole of Illinois; in that of Wisconsin, E. H. McNeal of Ohio State University.

#### GENERAL

The *Historical Outlook* continues its exceedingly interesting and informing series of articles on war activities by participants eminently capable of describing what they saw. The April number presents an account of the Procurement of Quartermaster's Supplies during the World War, by Mr. Albert L. Scott, a principal assistant to Mr. Stettinius; the May number, Experiences of a Y. M. C. A. Secretary in Russia, by Thomas P. Martin; the June number, Intelligence Work at First Army Headquarters, by Capt. John C. Parish, of the State Historical Society of Iowa. The April number has also an article on the Bias of History, by B. C. B. Tighe; the May number, a very interesting "source-study" on the Personality of Robespierre, by Professor H. E. Bourne; the June number, an article by Professor R. L. Finney on the Course in General History from the Sociologist's Standpoint; and all three have other valuable material on teaching.

The April number of *History* continues its article on the History of the Scheldt, by Professor Charles Terlinden of Louvain. The "historical revision" in this number is a paper on the battle of Bannockburn, by Professor T. F. Tout.

Articles in the April number of the *Journal of Negro History* are: the Development of the Negro Public School System in Missouri, by Henry S. Williams; the Aftermath of Nat Turner's Insurrection, by John W. Cromwell; and Religious Education in Negro Colleges and Universities, by David H. Sims.

A new edition of Putnam's *Tabular Views of Universal History*, revised to January, 1919, has appeared. The contents are, as heretofore, a useful series of chronological tables and an alphabetical index of subjects, but the material respecting the period of the war gives added value.

Professor M. Delacre of the University of Ghent has issued an *Histoire de la Chimie* (Paris, Gauthier-Villars, 1920, pp. xvi, 632); and A. Bordeaux, an *Histoire des Sciences Physiques, Chimiques, et Géologiques au XIX<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Paris, Béranger, 1920, pp. 660). *La Part des Croyants dans les Progrès de la Science au XIX<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Paris, Perrin, 1920) appears in two volumes, the first dealing with the exact sciences, and the second with the natural sciences.

Dr. Cabanès deals with such scourges of humanity as the plague, leprosy, cholera, smallpox, and grippe in the fifth volume of his *Moeurs Intimes du Passé* (Paris, Michel, 1920). Entertaining essays on the quarrel of the physicians and pharmacists, legends of Virgil, horse-racing in medieval Italy, papal finance in the fifteenth century, and other topics compose the second volume of *Études et Fantaisies Historiques* (Paris, Hachette, 1919, pp. 260) by E. Rodocanachi.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. R. Thayer, *Biography in the Nineteenth Century* (North American Review, May).

#### ANCIENT HISTORY

A. Ungnad has edited the *Briefe König Hammurapis, 2123-2081 v. Chr., nebst einem Einleitenden Überblick über die Geschichte und Kultur seiner Zeit und einem Anhang Briefe anderer Altbabylonischer Herrscher enthaltend* (Berlin, Curtius, 1919, pp. viii, 138).

In *Caractère Indo-Européen de la Langue Hittite* (Christiania, 1919), C. J. S. Marstrand has presented evidence that the Hittite language was Indo-European and most nearly related to the Italic, Celtic, and Tokharic. The author has carried forward the researches begun by E. Weidner in his *Studien zur Hethitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (1917) and by Hrozný in his *Sprache der Hethiter* and in his *Hethitische Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*.



G. Glotz, professor of Greek history at the Sorbonne, has published *Le Travail dans la Grèce Ancienne: Histoire Économique de la Grèce depuis la Période Homérique jusqu'à la Conquête Romaine* (Paris, Alcan, 1920, pp. 468).

The third volume of the *Storia Critica di Roma durante i Primi Cinque Secoli* (Rome, Loescher, 1918, pp. xi, 423) by Professor E. Pais has appeared.

The first volume of a *Topografia Storica dell' Etruria* (Pisa, Spoerri, 1918) by A. Solari has appeared.

H. Brinkmann has supplemented the work of Peters, who has utilized only the fragments by known authors, by publishing *Anonyme Fragmente Römischer Historiker bei Livius: eine Ergänzung zu H. Peters Historiae Romanorum Fragmenta* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1917, pp. 119).

*Στρατηγὸς Ὑπατος*, *Étude sur la Traduction en Grec du Titre Consulaire* (Paris, Boccard, 1918, pp. x, 168), presents careful researches by Maurice Holleaux.

*Das Wesen des Römischen Kaisertums der ersten zwei Jahrhunderte* (Paderborn, Schöningh, pp. viii, 94) of Otto Schulz has been followed by his later and more important *Vom Prinzipat zum Dominat, das Wesen des Römischen Kaisertums des 3. Jahrhunderts* (*ibid.*, 1919, pp. viii, 304).

A group of important studies by E. Ciaceri is collected in the volume *Processi Politici e Relazioni Internazionali: Studi sulla Storia Politica e sulla Tradizione Letteraria della Repubblica e dell' Impero Romano* (Rome, Nardecchia, 1918, reviewed by E. Bottini-Massa, *Rivista Storica Italiana*, January). The subjects of study include the relations with Egypt, the relations with Judaea in the time of Agrippa I., the conspiracy of Catiline, the servile war in Sicily, the Pisonian conspiracy against Nero, and the career of Pliny the Elder under Claudius and Nero.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. T. Olmstead, *Kashshites, Assyrians, and the Balance of Power* (*American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, January); T. J. Meek, *A Proposed Reconstruction of Early Hebrew History* (*American Journal of Theology*, April); M. H. Segal, *Studies in the Books of Samuel, V., The Chronology of David's Reign* (*Jewish Quarterly Review*, April); D. Sidersky, *La Stèle de Mésa, avec Index Bibliographique* (*Revue Archéologique*, July, 1919); Lieut.-Col. Dieulafoy, *Balthasar et Darius le Mède* (*Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, March, May); W. S. Messer, *Mutiny in the Roman Army: the Republic* (*Classical Philology*, April); M. Besnier, *L'Interdiction du Travail des Mines en Italie sous la République* (*Revue Archéologique*, July, 1919); E. J. Hardy, *The Catilinarian Conspiracy* (*Journal of Roman Studies*, VII. 2); E. Pais, *Il Trionfo e lo Svolgimento della Civiltà e dell' Imperialismo Romano* (*Nuova Antologia*, March 1); W. L. Westermann, *The "Un-*

*inundated Lands" in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt* (Classical Philology, April); R. Cagnat, *L'Armée d'Occupation de l'Égypte sous la Domination Romaine* (Revue des Deux Mondes, March 1).

#### EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

The leading matter in the *Analecta Bollandiana*, XXXVIII. 1 and 2, is a treatise of 136 pages by Father Hippolyte Delehaye on St. Martin of Tours and his biographer Sulpicius Severus, a treatise of much importance to fourth-century history. The reviews of books lying within the field of hagiography have their usual high character.

#### MEDIEVAL HISTORY

B. Krusch and W. Levison have edited vol. I. of *Passiones Vitaeque Sanctorum Aevi Merovingici* (Hanover, Hahn, 1919, pp. 440) for the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*.

H. Hoffmann has presented some of the bases for a critical study of the historical sources relating to Charles the Great in his thesis on *Karl der Grosse im Bilde der Geschichtschreibung des Frühen Mittelalters* (Berlin, Ebering, 1919, pp. xvi, 166).

The second volume of B. Mandrot's edition of the *Dépêches des Ambassadeurs Milanais en France sous Louis XI. et François Sforza* (Paris, Société de l'Histoire de France, 1919) contains despatches for the year 1464.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Halphen, *Études Critiques sur l'Histoire de Charlemagne* (Revue Historique, November); L. Bréhier, *La Situation des Chrétiens de Palestine à la Fin du VIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle et l'Établissement du Protectorat de Charlemagne* (Le Moyen Age, January, 1919); A. Fliche, *Hildebrand, I.*, (*ibid.*); A. Pelzer, *Une Source Inconnue de Roger Bacon: Alfred de Sareshel Commentateur des Météorologiques d'Aristote* (Archivum Franciscanum Historicum, January); T. Plassmann, *Bartholomaeus Anglicus* (*ibid.*).

#### MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The first issue of the *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome* contains *L'Expansion Belge à Rome et en Italie depuis le Quinzième Siècle* (Paris, Champion, 1920, pp. xii, 379).

A comprehensive account of the Society of Jesus by one of its members is *La Compagnie de Jésus: Esquisse de son Institut et de son Histoire, 1521-1773* (Paris, Beauchesne, 1920, pp. ix, 844) by Joseph Brucker.

G. Drei has edited *La Corrispondenza del Card. Ercole Gonzaga, Presidente del Concilio di Trento* (Parma, la Bodoniana, 1918, pp. 173); and written *Intorno al Pontificato di Pio IV. e al Concilio di Trento* (Perugia, Unione Tip. Cooperativa, 1918, pp. 150).

Herman de Vries gives an account of students from the Low Countries at Geneva in the days of Beza in the first volume of *Genève, Pépinière du Calvinisme Hollandais* (Fribourg, Fragnière, 1919, pp. xvi, 331).

*Annales Prince de Ligne* (Paris, Champion) is a new magazine of history and society issued for the purpose of exploiting a considerable mass of family papers relating to Charles-Joseph, Prince de Ligne, 1735-1814, who was a general in the Austrian army and conspicuous at the Austrian court especially as the friend of Joseph II. The journal bids fair to contribute much to the history of the latter half of the eighteenth century and of the Napoleonic era.

The *Memoirs of the Count de Rochecouart, 1788-1816*, now published in English translation (London, Murray; New York, Dutton), is the autobiography of one who was an adopted son and aide-de-camp of that Duc de Richelieu who served in high position under the tsar during the Napoleonic period; he was also an aide to Alexander I. in 1812-1814.

The interval from 1828 to 1878 is considered by F. Mourret in the first part (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1919, pp. 714) of the eighth volume of his *Histoire Générale de l'Église*.

*Les Résistances à la Politique Religieuse de Pie X.* (Paris, Victorien, 1920) are discussed by J. Rocafort.

Duke Johann Georg of Saxony and Professor Ernst Daenell have edited *Briefwechsel Königs Johann von Sachsen mit George Ticknor* (Leipzig, Teubner, pp. 180), containing 72 letters, 1837-1871, both correspondents writing in English. The book is one of great interest and considerable importance.

Among recent volumes on European international relations of the last half-century are *L'Intervention de la France dans la Question du Slesvig du Nord* (Paris, Plon, 1919, pp. vii, 152) by F. de Jessen; the volume of *Briefe Wilhelms II. an den Zaren, 1894-1914* (Berlin, Ullstein, 1920, pp. xxvii, 439) edited by W. Goetz; and the seventh volume of A. Gauvain's *L'Europe au Jour le Jour* (Paris, Bossard, 1920, pp. 490) dealing with the outbreak of the Great War and its opening months from June, 1914, to February, 1915.

Professor H. Delbrück treats of modern times in the fourth volume of his *Geschichte der Kriegskunst im Rahmen der Politischen Geschichte* (Berlin, Stilke, 1920, pp. x, 552).

G. de Lamarzelle has presented the subject of *L'Anarchie dans le Monde Moderne* (Paris, Beauchesne, 1919, pp. xxi, 472).

Professor Fernand Baldensperger, who has been exchange professor at Columbia University, has published *L'Avant-Guerre dans la Littérature Française, 1900-1914* (Paris, Payot, 1919).

Professors Charles H. Haskins and Robert H. Lord of Harvard, two of the expert advisers to the American commissioners at Paris, are about to publish a book entitled *Some Problems of the Peace Conference* (Harvard University Press).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. F. Wright, *The Divorce of Henry VIII.: a Contemporaneous Discussion at one of the Continental Universities* (American Catholic Quarterly, October); C. Espejo, *La Carestia de la Vida en el Siglo XVI. y Medios de Abaratarla*, I. (Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos, January); Lieut.-Col. de Thomasson, *Un Précédent: la Résistance Prussienne après Tilsit* (Revue Hebdomadaire, February 28); J. E. S. Green, *Wellington and the Congress of Verona* (English Historical Review, April); Commandant Weil, *Metternich and the Entente Cordiale* (Quarterly Review, April); E. Despréaux, *Les Réfugiés Russes à Paris et la Révolution de 48: Herten* (Révolution de 1848, September); F. J. Goodnow, *Former Plans for a League of Nations* (Columbia Law Review, January).

#### THE GREAT WAR

*A Brief History of the Great War*, by Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes, treats the political, military, diplomatic, and social aspects of the war to the close of the Peace Conference (Macmillan).

Professor T. Niemeyer has edited a volume of *Politische Urkunden zur Entwicklung des Weltkrieges* (pp. viii, 755) which has been published as a supplement to the sixth volume of the *Jahrbuch des Völkerrechts. Die Brandstifter der Entente* (Berlin, Engelmann, 1918, pp. xv, 371) is by P. Rohrbach and J. Kühn and is published as the first volume of *Chauvinismus und Weltkrieg*. W. Schücking has made a study of *Die Völkerrechtliche Lehre des Weltkrieges* (Leipzig, Veit, 1918, pp. vii, 239).

Among the recent German contributions to the history of the war are the following volumes by generals: *Mein Bericht zur Marneschlacht* (Berlin, Scherl, 1920, pp. 85) by Field-Marshal von Bülow; *Erinnerungen an den Marnefeldzug, 1914* (Leipzig, Koehler, 1920, pp. 246) of General Freiherr von Hausen, edited with a critical study by M. Kirch-eisen; *Feldzugsaufzeichnungen, 1914-1918* (Stuttgart, Belser, 1920, pp. 336) by General von Moser; and *Meiner Truppen Heldenkämpfe* (Berlin, Mittler, 1920, pp. 182), by Curt von Morgen.

A. Mousset has prepared *Éléments d'une Bibliographie des Livres, Brochures, et Tracts imprimés ou publiés en Espagne de 1914 à 1918 et relatifs à la Guerre Mondiale* (Madrid, Tello, 1919, pp. 108).

Volume VI. of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's *History of the Great War* has come from the press (Doran). The volume deals with the British campaign in France and Flanders, July to November, 1918.

A volume entitled *Au Bord du Gouffre* (Paris, Flammarion), by Victor Margueritte, is devoted to adverse criticism of the French General Staff and its plans and preparations before and at the beginning of the war.

General Lanrézac has dealt with the strategic rôle of the fifth army under his command in *Le Plan de Campagne Français et le Premier Mois de la Guerre, 2 Août-3 Septembre 1914* (Paris, Payot, 1920, pp. 288). F. Engerand, in continuation of his *Charleroi*, has published *La Bataille de la Frontière, Août 1914, Briey* (Paris, Bossard, 1920, pp. 244) in which he utilizes official documents. Commandant de Civrieux has joined the controversy on *L'Offensive de 1917 et le Commandement du Général Nivelle* (Paris, Van Oest, 1919); and H. Galli has contributed to the same subject *L'Offensive Française de 1917, Avril-Mai, de Soissons à Reims* (Paris, Garnier, 1920, pp. vii, 262). From the pen of Jean de Pierrefeu we have *G. Q. G., Section 1, Trois Ans au Grand Quartier Général par le Rédacteur du Communiqué* (vols. I.-II., Paris, Éditions Françaises Illustrées, 1920).

*Joffre, la Première Crise du Commandement* (Paris, Ollendorff, 1919, pp. 380) by "Mermeix" contributes much information relating to the problems of the French high command. Capt. Raymond Recouly ("Capitaine X.") is the author of *Foch, le Vainqueur de la Guerre* (Paris, Lahure, 1919, pp. 246), which has been issued in English by Scribner. M. Dutrèb and P. A. de Granier de Cassagnac in their life of *Mangin* (Paris, Payot, 1920, pp. 256) have used documentary materials relating to the general's career throughout the war. Vice-Admiral Dartige du Fournet, who commanded the Allied fleets in the eastern Mediterranean, has published his *Souvenirs de Guerre d'un Amiral, 1914-1916* (Paris, Plon, 1920, pp. 320).

Lieutenant-general von Cramon, who from the beginning of 1915 until some months after the armistice was German military plenipotentiary at Austro-Hungarian headquarters, has published a book of much importance, temperately written and interesting, on the relations between the German and Austrian supreme commands during the war, *Unser Oesterreich-Ungarischer Bundesgenosse im Weltkriege* (Berlin, Mittler).

A German attack on the terms of the armistice by B. Schwertfeger bears the title *Der Irrtum des Marschalls Foch, Gründe der Deutschen Kapitulation vom 11. November 1918, nach Amtlichen Urkunden des Französischen Grossen Generalstabes* (Berlin, Hobbing, 1919, pp. 96). The same author has published *Der Geistige Kampf um die Verletzung der Belgischen Neutralität* (Berlin, Engelmann, 1919, pp. xvi, 191).

A. Albert-Petit is continuing the reprinting of his articles from the *Journal des Débats* in *La France de la Guerre*, vol. III., *Septembre 1917-Juin 1919* (Paris, Bossard, 1920, pp. 603). Joseph Reinach has

published the nineteenth and final volume of *La Guerre de 1914-1918: les Commentaires de Polybe* (Paris, Fasquelle, 1920), and has supplemented it with *L'Année de la Paix* (Paris, Van Oest, 1920, pp. 258). *La Politique du Pain pendant la Guerre, 1914-1919* (Paris, Rousseau, 1919, pp. 365) is by Dr. A. Beaucourt.

*L'Expédition des Dardanelles au Jour le Jour* (Paris, Colin, 1920, pp. 352) is a careful compilation by F. Charles-Roux.

The German advance into Italy is described by W. Oertel in *Der Vormarsch in Oberitalien vom Isonzo zur Piave* (Stuttgart, Franck, 1918, pp. 77, 10 maps), and the repulse by A. Fraccaroli in *La Vittoria del Piave, Giugno-Luglio 1918* (Milan, Alfieri and Lacroix, 1918, pp. 153).

Capt. R. Bernotti of the Italian navy has written *Il Potere Marittimo nella Grande Guerra* (Leghorn, Giusti, 1920, pp. 553), and A. Hurd, *Italian Sea-Power and the Great War* (London, Constable, 1919).

Two extremely interesting articles contributed by Professor Henri Pirenne to the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of February 1 and 15 have been brought together in a small volume, *Souvenirs de Captivité en Allemagne, Mars 1916-Novembre 1918* (Brussels, Maurice Lamertin, pp. 93). Aside from personal details which will be of interest to M. Pirenne's friends in this country, the main interest of the book lies in its acute observations of German character and conduct during the war, taken during his enforced residence in Jena and Creuzburg, after his release from technical imprisonment. It will be a pleasure to many American scholars to learn that, "À Bruxelles, au mois de juin 1919, le président Wilson me fit l'honneur de me raconter qu'il avait lui-même écrit deux fois en notre faveur à l'empereur d'Allemagne, sans en obtenir d'autre réponse qu'un refus laconique".

The aftermath of the peace conference furnishes the subject for *Der Weltprotest gegen den Versailler Frieden* (Leipzig, Der Neue Geist-Verlag, 1920, pp. 78) by A. Fried the well-known pacifist; for *L'Allemagne et la Paix; la Lutte contre les Conséquences de sa Défaite* (Paris, Perrin, 1919) by J. Mont; and for *Le Pacte des Nations et sa Liaison avec le Traité de Paix* (Paris, Sirey, 1919, pp. x, 462) by G. Scelle.

Messrs. Constable will publish a volume of documents, edited by C. E. Manteyer, dealing with *The Austrian Peace Offer*.

Ludwig Deppe's *Mit Lettow-Vorbeck durch Afrika* (Berlin, Scherl, 1920, pp. 508) is an interesting contribution to the history of the East African phase of the Great War.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. E. M. Stutfield, *A Pre-War Mystery* [the concordat between the Vatican and Serbia, signed June 24, 1914] (*National Review*, April); Lieut.-Col. R. H. Beadon, *The Supreme War Council of the Allied and Associated Nations: its Origin,*

*Organization, and Work* (Journal of the Royal United Service Institution, February); XXX, *La Coopération Franco-Italienne pendant la Guerre* (Revue des Deux Mondes, March 1, 15); Maj. T. E. Compton, *The Campaign of 1918 in France* (Journal of the Royal United Service Institution, February); L. Madelin, *Le Chemin de la Victoire* (Revue Hebdomadaire, February 7-April 10); General Mangin, *Comment finit la Guerre* (Revue des Deux Mondes, April 1, 15); Lieut.-Col. C. C. R. Murphy, *The Turkish Army in the Great War* (Journal of the Royal United Service Institution, February); Col. G. E. Mitchell, *The Rout of the Turks by Allenby's Cavalry*, I., (Cavalry Journal, April); Y. Guyot, *L'Année de l'Armistice* (Journal des Économistes, January); Raymond Recouly ("Capt. X."), *What Foch really said: the Historic Scene when the Armistice was Signed in a Railway Car* (Scribner's Magazine, May); *La France et le Traité de Paix avec l'Allemagne*: I., H. Truchy, *Les Clauses Financières*; II., F. Sauvaire-Jourdan, *Les Clauses Économiques*; III., O. Festy, *Les Clauses Ouvrières*; IV., A. Girault, *Les Clauses Coloniales*; V., C. Gide, *Le Partage de l'Afrique*; VI., E. Villey, *Notre Situation Financière* (Revue d'Économie Politique, November).

#### GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

A. Crespi has given an estimate of the significance of the development of the British Empire and of the character of British imperialism in *La Funzione Storica de l'Impero Britannico* (Milan, Treves, 1918).

The corporation of Warwick proposes to issue a translation with introduction and notes of the *Household Accounts of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick*, Rouen, 1431. The manuscript covers a year when Henry VI. and his court were resident at Rouen, and contains valuable information relating to articles of food, prices, weights and measures, manners and customs, especially modes of travel.

Volume I. (*Die Anfänge des Hauses Hannover*) of Professor Wolfgang Michael's *Englische Geschichte im Achtzehnten Jahrhundert* appears in a second edition (Berlin, Rothschild), accompanied by a second volume, *Das Zeitalter Walpoles*. The new volume not only deals with internal affairs but also furnishes a remarkably thorough treatment of the international relations in the troubled years 1718-1720.

J. Pons has studied the influence of the ideas of Rousseau on education in England in *L'Éducation en Angleterre entre 1750-1800* (Paris, Leroux, 1919, pp. 273).

With a view to casting light on the present situation with respect to issues of British paper money, Professor Edwin Cannan, in a small book called *The Paper Pound of 1797-1821*, prints the Bullion Report of 1810, with an able introduction and comments.

The second and concluding volume of Herr M. Beer's English ver-



sion of his *History of British Socialism*, which was almost completed at the outbreak of the war, will appear before long; also, a reprint, edited by Mr. R. H. Tawney, of the more noteworthy writings of the early English socialists, whose works are now almost impossible to obtain.

In *A Social and Industrial History of England, 1815-1918* (Methuen), J. F. Rees seeks to show the historical background of modern social and industrial problems.

*The Private Letters of Sir Robert Peel*, edited by his grandson, Hon. Robert Peel, are announced for publication by Mr. John Murray.

The April number of the *Scottish Historical Review* has articles on the Spanish Story of the Armada, by Dr. W. P. Ker, on Clerical Life in Scotland in the Sixteenth Century, by Sir James Balfour Paul, and on the Constitutional Growth of Carlisle Cathedral, by Canon Wilson.

Fresh ground is broken by Dr. John R. Elder in *Spanish Influences in Scottish History, 1458-1603* (Glasgow, MacLehose).

Of Lord Ernest Hamilton's *Ulster under the First Two Stuarts* (London, Murray), quite one-half is occupied with a detailed account of the native rising of 1641 and 1642.

A history of the first successful plantation in Ireland and of life in County Down from 1600 to 1800 is told by John Stevenson in *Two Centuries of Life in Down* (Belfast, McCaw, Stevenson, and Orr).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. R. Reid, *Barony and Thanage* (English Historical Review, April); G. F. Abbott, *The Levant Company and its Rivals* (Quarterly Review, April); E. N. S. Thompson, *War Journalism Three Hundred Years Ago* (Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, March); Vice-Adm. C. B. Ballard, *The Development of Malta as a First-Class Naval Base since its Inclusion in the British Empire* (Journal of the Royal United Service Institution, February); H. A. Gibbons, *Great Britain in Egypt* (Century Magazine, May).

#### FRANCE

General reviews: L. Halphen, *Histoire de France: le Moyen Age jusqu'aux Valois* (Revue Historique, January); R. Guyot, *Histoire de France de 1800 à nos Jours et Questions Générales Contemporaines* (*ibid.*).

R. Doré has prepared a small but useful *État des Inventaires et Répertoires des Archives Nationales, Départementales, Communales, et Hospitalières de la France à la Date du 1<sup>er</sup> Décembre 1919* (Paris, Champion, 1920, pp. xiii, 30).

Gabriel Hanotaux has undertaken the editorship of an *Histoire de la Nation Française des Origines Préhistoriques jusqu'à nos Jours, 1920*,

in fifteen quarto volumes to be published by Messrs. Plon. The first volume contains the editor's general introduction and a portion of the geographical section by J. Brunhes. Successive volumes or groups of volumes will be assigned to the political, military, diplomatic, religious, economic, and social history, and to the history of arts, letters, and sciences.

Two volumes of *Études Franques* (Paris, Champion, 1919, pp. 356, 347) by the Belgian scholar, the late Professor Godefroid Kurth, contain thoroughly revised reprints of various articles which he had contributed in later years to several historical reviews and a half-dozen unpublished studies. These articles relate chiefly to the history of the sixth century, and several of them are critical studies of the history by Gregory of Tours.

The *Cartulaire de Sainte-Foy de Peyrolières* (Paris, Champion, 1920, pp. 376) has been edited by J. Contrasty. Victor Carrière has published the *Histoire et Cartulaire des Templiers de Provins avec une Introduction sur les Débuts du Temple en France* (*ibid.*, 1919, pp. lxxxviii, 231). Dr. V. Le Blond has edited the *Cartulaire de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Beauvais* (*ibid.*, 1919, pp. xv, 853).

Father Mortier, a Dominican, has written an *Histoire Abrégée de l'Ordre de Saint-Dominique en France* (Paris, Mame, 1920, pp. x, 390).

For the series *Figures du Passé*, Professor J. H. Mariéjol of the University of Lyons has prepared a biography of *Catherine de Médicis, 1519-1589* (Paris, Hachette, 1920).

Dr. Victor Martin has edited *Les Négociations du Nonce Silingardi, Evêque de Modène, relatives à la Publication du Concile de Trente en France, 1599-1601* (Paris, Picard, pp. 118).

The third volume of G. Schelle's edition of the *Oeuvres de Turgot* (Paris, Alcan, 1920) includes Turgot's administration as intendant at Limoges from 1768 to 1774 and throws important light on the development of his economic ideas and their applications in his measures of reform.

The publication of the careful and valuable *Dictionnaire des Conventionnels* (Paris, Rieder, 1919, pp. iv, 617) by A. Kuscinski has been completed.

Professor A. Chuquet has edited two new volumes of *Inédits Napoléoniens* (Paris, Bocard, 1920). Col. E. Bourdeau has followed his *L'Épopée Républicaine, 1792-1804*, with *Campagnes Modernes: l'Épopée Impériale, 1804-1815* (Paris, Charles-Lavauzelle, 1919, pp. 585). Baron Hennet de Goutel has utilized much new documentary material in *Le Général Cassan et la Défense de Pampelune, 25 Juin-31 Octobre 1813* (Paris, Perrin, 1920).

L. Cahen and A. Mathiez have edited a useful selection from *Les Lois Françaises de 1815 à nos Jours* (Paris, Alcan, 1920, pp. 374).

Paix-Séailles has devoted a volume to *Jaurès et Caillaux* (Paris, Figuière, 1920), and "Justin" has attempted to prove from the writings and speeches of Jaurès his patriotic attitude on the subject of national defense in *Jaurès Patriote* (Paris, Bossard, 1920, pp. 100).

President Paul Deschanel's war-time speeches are collected in the volume *La France Victorieuse: Paroles de Guerre* (Paris, Fasquelle, 1920, pp. 416).

Volumes XXX-XXXIII. (November, 1914-April, 1919), of the *Annales de Bretagne*, have recently come to the office of this journal after long delays due to the war. Among the contributions of historical interest should be noted the following: Maurice Bernard, "La Municipalité de Brest de 1750 à 1790" (November, 1915-April, 1919); B. Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, "La Vie Temporelle des Communautés de Femmes à Rennes au XVII<sup>e</sup> et au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècles" (January, 1916-April, 1917); Léon Maître, "Le Gouvernement de la Bretagne sous la Duchesse Anne, 1489-1513" (April, 1917); J. Allenou, "Histoire Féodale des Marais, Territoire, et Église de Dol" (July, 1917-October, 1918); R. Durand, "Le Commerce en Bretagne au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle" (October, 1917); P. Viard, "Les Subsistances en Ile-et-Vilaine sous le Consulat et le Premier Empire" (July, 1917-January, 1918); Louis de Laigle, "Nantes à l'Époque Gallo-Romaine" (January-October, 1918); Lucien Guillou, "André Vanderheyde, Courtier Lorientais, et ses Opérations, 1756-1765" (January, 1918-April, 1919). "La Métropole de Bretagne" (October, 1916-April, 1919), consists of a documentary account of the church of Dol in the eleventh century, followed by lists of ecclesiastical dignitaries. The volumes also contain the annual compilations constituting the "Bibliographie Bretonne", for the years 1913 to 1917.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: T. Ferré, *L'Idée de Patrie en France de Clovis à Charlemagne* (Le Moyen Age, January, 1919); L. Mirot, *Lettres Closes de Charles VI. conservées aux Archives de Reims et de Tournai* (*ibid.*, July, 1918, January, 1919); G. Goyau, *Les Étapes d'une Gloire Religieuse, Jeanne d'Arc*, I., II. (Revue des Deux Mondes, April 15, May 1); K. Glaser, *Aufklärung und Revolution in Frankreich: eine Literar-historische Studie* (Zeitschrift für Französische Sprache und Literatur, XLV. 7); G. Lenotre, *Le Roi Louis XVII.*, IV.-VI. (Revue des Deux Mondes, February 1, March 1, 15); E. Lenient, *Les Généraux du Directoire* (Annales Révolutionnaires, January); M. Marion, *Le Retour aux Prix Normaux sous la Révolution après la Disparition du Papier-Monnaie* (Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, December); A. Chuquet, *Le Départ de l'Ile d'Elbe*, I.-II. (Revue de Paris, February, March); M. and M. Dunan, *L'Armée d'après Guerre il y a Cent Ans: le Premier Ministère Gouvion-Saint-Cyr*

(Revue Historique, November); P. Rain, *Les Centenaires de la Restauration: Chronique de 1819* (Revue des Études Historiques, October).

### ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

G. Pardi has edited the geographer Edrisi's description of Italy under the title *L'Italia nel XII. Secolo, descritta da un Geografo Arabo* (Florence, *Rivista Geografica Italiana*).

A. Gherardi has edited Guicciardini's *Storia d'Italia* (Florence, Sansoni, 1919, 4 vols.) from the original manuscripts.

The proceedings at the exercises in commemoration of the four hundredth anniversary of the death of Leonardo da Vinci are published in *Leonardo Commemorato in Campidoglio, 11 Maggio 1919* (Rome, Tip. del Senato, 1919). L. Beltrami has edited a volume of *Documenti e Memorie riguardanti la Vita e le Opere di Leonardo da Vinci in Ordine Cronologico* (Milan, Treves, 1919), and another volume contains *Raccolta Vinciana presso l'Archivio Storico del Comune di Milano* (Milan, Allegretti, 1919). L. Venturi has written of *La Critica e l'Arte di Leonardo da Vinci* (Bologna, Zanichelli, 1919) and L. Beltrami, of *Leonardo e i Disfattisti suoi* (Milan, Treves, 1919).

A. Valente has devoted a biographical study to *Margherita di Durazzo, Vicaria di Carlo III. e Tutrice di Re Ladislao* (Naples, Pierro, 1919, pp. 230). *Il Carteggio Intimo di Margherita d'Austria Duchessa di Parma e Piacenza* (Naples, Jovene, 1919, pp. 276) has been edited by Ines d'Onofrio.

Signor Pompeo Molmenti's *Curiosità di Storia Veneziana* (Bologna, Zanichelli) is composed of a number of recent studies, published in Italian periodicals, on the relations of Venice with the envoys of foreign states, etc. Two hitherto unpublished accounts of Venice in the seventeenth century, one of them by a secretary to a papal nuncio, are printed in the volume.

Italian conditions under Napoleonic rule are depicted by Jehan d'Ivray in *La Lombardia au Temps de Bonaparte* (Paris, Crès, 1919, pp. 372), and by P. Pedrotti, E. Tolomei, and others in *La Venezia Tridentina nel Regno Italico, 1810-1814* (Rome, Garroni, 1919, pp. xi, 486).

M. degli Alberti narrates the events of the years 1842-1846 in the third volume of his *La Politica Estera del Piemonte sotto Carlo Alberto* (Turin, 1919). L. C. Bollea has edited *Una Silloge di Lettere del Risorgimento di particolare attinenza all'Alleanza Franco-Italiana, alla Guerra del 1859, e alla Spedizione dei Mille* (Turin, Bocca, 1919, pp. viii, 541).

A portion of Mazzini's correspondence appears in the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth volumes of his *Scritti Editi ed Inediti* (Imola, Galileati, 1918). There is a new biography, *Giuseppe Mazzini* (Milan, Casa Ed. Risorgimento, 1918), by F. L. Mannucci.

Biographical accounts of *Vincenzo Monti* (Catania, Gianotta, 1918, pp. 223), by M. Cerini, and of *Il Conte Giuseppe Greppi e i suoi Ricordi Diplomatici, 1842-1888* (Rome, Tip. del Senato, 1919, pp. xvi, 342) by R. de Cesare, as well as the third and fourth volumes of P. Boselli's *Discorsi e Scritti* (Turin, Baravalle and Falconieri, 1919, pp. 384, 452) have recently appeared.

J. Miret y Sans has worked out and published the *Itinerari de Jaume I.*, "*El Conqueridor*" (Barcelona, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1918).

*Los Almirantes de Aragón Datos para su Cronología* (Madrid, Fontanet, 1919, pp. 76) has been compiled by the Marqués de Laurencín and is obviously valuable quite out of proportion to its size.

Under date of 1915, Don Julian Paz, formerly chief archivist at Simancas, has recently published in a volume, *Catálogo de los Documentos de las Negociaciones de Flandes, Holanda, y Bruselas, 1506-1795* (Paris, Champion, 1915, pp. 185), his data previously published on the sections thus named in those archives.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Luzio, *Raimondo Doria e Giuseppe Mazzini* (Nuova Antologia, March 1); G. La Piana, *The Roman Church and Modern Italian Democracy* (Harvard Theological Review, April); E. Mayer, *Studien zur Spanischen Rechtsgeschichte* (Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung, Germ. Abth., XL.).

#### GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

General review: A. Stern, *Histoire d'Allemagne, Publications relatives à la Réforme* (Revue Historique, November).

L. Lorenz has prepared several useful lists of *Die Besten Deutschen Geschichtswerke, Zehn Listen zur Auswahl, mit einer Einleitung über die Entwicklung der Deutschen Geschichtswissenschaft* (Leipzig, Kochler, 1920, pp. vi, 137).

The first volume of a *Bibliographie der Sächsischen Geschichte* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1918, pp. xii, 521) compiled by Rudolf Bemann has been issued under the patronage of the Königliche Sammlungen für Kunst und Wissenschaft.

A thesis by G. Gronen deals with *Die Machtpolitik Heinrichs des Löwen und sein Gegensatz gegen das Kaisertum* (Berlin, Ebering, 1920, pp. xxxii, 157).

*Germany and the French Revolution* (Longmans) is an excellent study by Mr. G. P. Gooch of German thought in the years from 1789 to 1800, a period uneventful on the side of practical affairs but important in its intellectual aspect because the opinions and characters were then forming which were to shape the new Germany.

Paul Wentzke has undertaken an exhaustive *Geschichte der Deutschen Burschenschaft*, of which the first volume (Heidelberg, Winter, 1919, pp. xiv, 399) deals with events prior to the Carlsbad congress.

Professor F. Meinecke of the University of Berlin discusses recent aspects of German affairs in *Nach der Revolution: Geschichtliche Betrachtungen über unsere Tage* (Berlin, Oldenbourg, 1920, pp. 144). An Alsatian view will be found in *L'Allemagne après la Débâcle: impressions d'un Attaché à la Mission Militaire Française à Berlin, Mars-Juillet 1919* (Strasbourg, Imp. Strasbourgeoise, 1920). The French fears are expressed in *L'Armée Allemande depuis la Défaite* (Paris, Payot, 1920) by Paul Gentizon.

Louis Leger has continued the narrative to 1918 in a new edition of his well-known *Histoire de l'Autriche-Hongrie* (Paris, Hachette, 1920).

The former premier of France, Louis Barthou, has written the preface for *Le Catastrophe Austro-Hongrois: Souvenirs d'un Témoin Oculaire* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1920, pp. 266) by M. Martchenko. Count S. Gopčević indicates the thesis of his volume in the title *Oesterreichs Untergang, die Folge von Franz Josefs Missregierung* (Berlin, Siegmund, 1920, pp. 328). A third Slav, S. Benco, has described *Gli Ultimi Anni della Dominazione Austriaca a Trieste* (Milan, Casa Ed. Risorgimento, 1919, 3 vols.).

One portion of the *Bibliographie Nationale Suisse* is devoted to a *Bibliographie de l'Eglise Évangélique Réformée de la Suisse*, of which two parts have already been published, that for German Switzerland, by G. Finsler, in 1896, and that for Romance Switzerland in general, the Bernese Jura, Neuchâtel, and Vaud, by H. Vuilleumier, in 1911. MM. Henri Heyer and Eugène Pallard, charged with the Genevan list, have now published the first part of it, embracing some 4500 items, of the period 1535–1900, relating to the constitutional, political, and more strictly ecclesiastical history of the Genevan church, and carrying down to Calvin inclusive the bibliography of the biographies of individuals. There are not fewer than one hundred pages on the bibliography of Calvin.

Dr. Paul Marx, under the direction of the Swiss ministry of justice, has compiled a *Systematisches Register zu den geltenden Staatsverträgen der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft und der Kantone mit dem Ausland* (Zürich, Orell Füssli, 1918, pp. xvi, 416).

*Alfred Escher: Vier Jahrzehnte Neuerer Schweizergeschichte* (Frauenfeld, Huber, 1919, 2 vols.) by E. Gagliardi is of special value because of the paucity of works on the recent history of Switzerland.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Waddington, *Le Roi de Prusse Frédéric-Guillaume I<sup>er</sup>, son Éducation, son Tempérament, son Caractère* (Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, December).

## NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

In the beautiful illustrated series published under the direction of Professor Brugmans by Meulenhoff of Amsterdam, a model for such series, Professor P. J. Blok of Leiden has published the first of two volumes on *Willem de Eerste Prins van Orange*, which is clearly written and of great interest.

A *Short History of Belgium*, by Professor Léon Van der Essen of Louvain, reviewed in a former volume of this journal (XXI. 847), has now been brought out in a revised edition (University of Chicago Press) with a brief additional chapter on the period of the war.

Professor E. Van der Smissen of the University of Liège has edited *Léopold II. et Beernaert d'après leur Correspondance Inédite de 1884 à 1894* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1920, 2 vols., pp. 456, 428). The first volume contains materials relating to the foundation of the Congo State and the question of the defense of the Meuse; the second volume relates to the revision of the constitution.

In *Documents Belges* (Paris, Payot, 1919) Dr. Richard Grelling, the author of *J'Accuse* and of *Le Crime*, continues the latter work and makes a critical study of the reports of the Belgian ambassadors published by the German government.

## NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

General review: *Charles XII*. [publications of 1902-1919] (*Revue Historique*, January).

G. Bonwetsch has contributed a *Geschichte der Deutschen Kolonien an der Wolga* (Stuttgart, Engelhorn, 1919, pp. 132) to the series of *Schriften des Deutschen Ausland-Instituts*.

The *Memoirs* of M. Izvolski, Russian minister of foreign affairs from 1906 to 1910, are soon to be published in English by Messrs. Hutchinson (London).

From the long list of books and pamphlets which have appeared in the last few months relating to the Russian revolution, the following may be cited as perhaps the more important: *Mes Cahiers Russes: l'Ancien Régime, le Gouvernement Provisoire, le Pouvoir des Soviets* (Paris, Crès, 1920) by M. Verstraete; *De Zimmerwald au Bolchévisme ou le Triomphe du Marxisme Pangermaniste: Essai sur les Menées Internationalistes pendant la Guerre, 1914-1920* (Paris, Bossard, 1920) by "Jean Maxe"; *La Révolution et le Bolchévisme en Russie* (Paris, Perrin, 1920) by N. Zvorikine; *Les Partis Politiques et la Révolution Russe* (Paris, Payot, 1919, pp. 272) by G. Demorgny; *Trotsky* (Paris, Humanité, 1920, pp. 160) by Roger Lévy, who presents considerable new documentary material on Brest-Litovsk and the "red army"; *Le Commerce Russe et la Révolution* (Paris, Payot, 1920, pp. 240) by F.



Denjean; and *Une Législation Communiste: Recueil des Lois, Décrets, Arrêtés principaux du Gouvernement Bolchéviste* (ibid., 1919, pp. xx, 588), edited by R. Labry.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Countess Keller, *Souvenirs de la Révolution Russe au Caucase* (Revue Hebdomadaire, January 10, 17); O. Hoetzsch, *Tschecho-Slowakei und Polen* (Neue Rundschau, March).

#### SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

General review: E. Stein, *Die Byzantinische Geschichtswissenschaft im Letzten Halben Jahrhundert* (Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertumsgeschichte, XLIII. 10).

The *Bibliographie Hellénique ou Description raisonnée des Ouvrages publiés par des Grecs au Dix-huitième Siècle*, the compilation of which was undertaken by the late Émile Legrand, has been completed and the first volume (Paris, Garnier, 1920) published by Mgr. L. Petit, archbishop of Athens, and H. Pernot.

Dr. Nikos A. Bees (Βέης) has undertaken the editorship of a new journal, *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher* (Berlin-Wilmersdorf, 62 Uhlandstrasse), in co-operation with a considerable list of scholars, mostly Germans. The following announcement of its subscription price ought not to encourage American patronage: "Der Bezugspreis pro Band beträgt für Deutschland und Deutsch-Oesterreich 25 Mark, für Griechenland 20 Drachmen, für Amerika 10 Dollar, für alle übrigen Länder 25 französische Frank."

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Ancel, *La Politique de la Roumanie Vaincue, Mars-Novembre 1918* (Revue du Mois, February).

#### ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar has selected and edited a volume of *Sources of Vijayanagar History* (Madras, University, 1919, pp. 413).

J. J. A. Campos is the author of a brief *History of the Portuguese in Bengal* (Calcutta, Butterworth, 1919, pp. 309).

Mr. Henry Dodwell, curator of the Madras Record Office, has made a valuable study, based on the original records, of the "ideas and conditions" which "resulted in the establishment of the English Company as the principal power in India". The volume, entitled *Dupleix and Clive*, is published by Methuen.

The Otto Elsner Verlagsgesellschaft (Berlin, S. 42) announces for publication this summer *Alt-Kutscha: Archäologische und Religionsgeschichtliche Forschungen an Tempera-Gemälden aus Buddhistischen Höhlen der Ersten Acht Jahrhunderte nach Christi Geburt*, by Professor Albert Grünwedel, an important product of the Prussian expedition to Turfan in Chinese Turkestan, published as a book of some 300 pages

folio, in a limited edition (600 M., \$150) with nearly 200 illustrations, 25 of them in colors.

C. Maybon has edited *La Relation sur le Tonkin et la Cochinchine de M. de la Bissachère, Missionnaire Français, 1807* (Paris, Champion, 1920, pp. 187). Auguste Pavie has completed, with the issue of the seventh volume, the publication of *Mission Pavie en Indo-Chine, 1879-1895, Géographie et Voyages* (Paris, Leroux, 1920).

Mrs. Thomas A. Janvier has given to the New York Public Library an interesting collection of letters written from Japan, 1856-1862, by Townsend Harris, our first consul-general and first minister in that country. An account of them is given in the April *Bulletin* of the library.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Cahen, *Deux Ambassades Chinoises en Russie au Commencement du XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (*Revue Historique*, January); R. Pinon, *L'Offensive de l'Asie* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, April 15).

#### AFRICA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

The government of Algeria has undertaken the publication of a *Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire de l'Algérie après 1830*, for which Charles Esquer is editing the *Correspondance du Duc de Rovigo, Commandant en Chef du Corps d'Occupation d'Afrique, 1831-1833* (vols. I., II., Algiers, Carbonel, 1920).

Friends of history in South Africa have formed the Van Riebeeck Society under the presidency of the Right Hon. J. F. X. Merriman, for the publication of South African historical documents. The secretary's address is at the South African Public Library, Cape Town.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Anon., *Tangier: a Study in Internationalization* (*Round Table*, March).

#### AMERICA

##### GENERAL ITEMS

In the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington, galley-proofs of the first volume of *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*, edited by Dr. E. C. Burnett, have now been read. Professor Bassett, research associate, continues through July, and expects by the end of that month to finish, his examination and selection of materials from the Jackson papers for the proposed edition of the Correspondence of Andrew Jackson.

Among the recent accessions of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress are: miscellaneous records of the United States army, principally accounts of the quartermaster-general and returns, 1795-1848 (26 volumes); papers of W. W. Corcoran, 1815-1888 (83

volumes and unbound papers); diaries of William L. Marcy, 1833-1857 (9 volumes); letters of John Sherman to his brother, Gen. William T. Sherman, 1847-1890 (285); diaries and papers of Gen. Montgomery C. Meigs, 1849-1889 (59 volumes); diary of Nicholas King, 1796-1799 (1 volume); diaries and letters of Lieut. Theodore Talbot, 1843-1860 (3 pieces); miscellaneous papers of Jonathan Potts, 1776-1780 (43 pieces); miscellaneous letters of Dolly Madison, 1794-1845 (15 pieces); miscellaneous papers of William Brent, 1824-1848; diary of Henry Kloeppel on board U. S. ironclad *Patapsco*, January to December, 1863; draft of Gallatin's pamphlet on the Oregon question, 1846; and rare Kansas broadsides, 1856-1857 (6 pieces).

The Library of Congress has put forth a *List of References on the Treaty-Making Power* (pp. 219), compiled under the direction of Mr. H. H. Meyer, chief bibliographer.

The award in June of the annual prizes established by the late Joseph Pulitzer included the bestowal of the prize of \$2000, for the best book upon the history of the United States printed during the preceding year, to Dr. Justin H. Smith for his *History of the War with Mexico*, and of the prize of \$1000 for the best American biography to ex-Senator Albert J. Beveridge for his *Life of John Marshall*.

In 1921 the American Philosophical Society will award the Henry M. Phillips Prize, of \$2000, to the best essay on the following subject, partly historical: "The Control of the Foreign Relations of the United States: the Relative Rights, Duties, and Responsibilities of the President, of the Senate and the House, and of the Judiciary, in Theory and in Practice". Essays, of not more than 100,000 words, exclusive of notes, must be sent, in six copies, to the president of the society before December 31, 1920. Essays already published or printed are not eligible.

The *Catholic Historical Review* for April contains the interesting address respecting Catholic historical organizations which Professor Peter Guilday read at the inaugural session of the American Catholic Historical Association last December; an article by Father Victor F. O'Daniel on the unhappy relations between the early Dominicans in Kentucky and Fathers Badin and Nerinckx; and a paper by Professor C. E. Chapman on the Jesuits in Baja California, 1697-1768. The editor continues his list of the sources for the biography of the members of the American hierarchy.

The March number of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* of Philadelphia is chiefly occupied with a sketch of the life of Mother Cornelia Connelly, 1809-1879, foundress of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus.

The *Journal des Américanistes*, n. s., XI., contains an extensive "Bibliographie Américaniste", 1914-1919 (63 pp.), by P. Rivet, in which American archaeology, ethnography, and linguistics have the main place.

No. 155 of the sale catalogues of the Arthur H. Clark Company of Cleveland, a catalogue of books relating to the United States and the various states, counties, and cities, is so extensively and usefully annotated as to rise much above the level of the ordinary sale catalogue and to constitute a useful book of reference.

*The American Year Book* for 1919 (New York, Appleton, 1920, pp. 874) is prepared on the same general plan as its predecessors, in the same careful and competent manner, and under the hand of the same editor, Mr. Francis G. Wickware. The peace treaties and the problems involved in the return of the United States to a peace basis give of course a special character to this volume. There is a comprehensive statistical summary of the Great War (pp. 168-193), with particular attention to the part played by the American forces.

The University of Iowa Extension *Bulletin*, no. 60, which bears the title *Great Charters of Americanism*, and is edited by members of the faculty, includes the Mayflower Compact, the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, the Ordinance of 1787, the Constitution of the United States, the Monroe Doctrine, the Proclamation of Emancipation, the Platt Amendment, President Wilson's War Message, and the Covenant of the League of Nations. To these is added as an appendix the Constitution of Iowa.

In the March number of the *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society* is an interesting sketch, by William P. White, D.D., of the noted temperance lecturer, Rev. Thomas P. Hunt (1794-1876). In the same issue of the *Journal* Rev. Charles E. Corwin gives an account of the Introduction of the English Language into the Services of the Collegiate Dutch Church of New York City.

The lectures of Professor A. C. McLaughlin at Wesleyan University on the George Slocum Bennett Foundation have been published by the Abingdon Press with the title *Steps in the Development of American Democracy*.

Col. G. O. Shields, a veteran of the Civil War, who has been intimately associated for many years with the life of the Northwestern Indian, is publishing through the Vechten Waring Company of New York, in a limited edition *de luxe*, an historical volume entitled *The Blanket Indian of the Northwest*.

*Pan-Americanism: its Beginnings*, by Joseph B. Lockey, is a recent publication from the press of Macmillan.

#### ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

*An Answer to John Robinson of Leyden, by a Fellow Puritan*, edited by Champlin Burrage, from a manuscript of 1609, has been published by the Harvard University Press.

The town of Plymouth, England, is making elaborate preparations to celebrate on September 3-5 the tercentenary anniversary of the sailing of the Pilgrim Fathers from that port. The exercises include a civic reception, a literary and historical conference, a united religious service, and a historical procession and pageant.

*The Story of the Pilgrim Fathers*, by H. G. Tunnicliff, is from the press of Revell.

A useful addition to the historical literature respecting the part played by the French in the American Revolutionary War is a volume by the late Captain Joachim Merlant, of the faculty of the University of Montpellier, called *Soldiers and Sailors in the American War for Independence* (Scribner, pp. 123).

*America's Merchant Marine: a Presentation of its History and Development to date, with Chapters on related Subjects* is the title of a volume (pp. 257) put forth by the Bankers Trust Company of New York.

*Alexander Hamilton*, by Professor Henry Jones Ford, and *Stephen A. Douglas*, by Louis Howland, have been added to Scribner's *Figures from American History*.

It is understood that Miss Penelope McDuffie of Converse College is engaged in the preparation of a life of Willie P. Mangum.

The Navy Department expects to issue before long the two concluding volumes of its invaluable series, *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies*.

*The Life and Letters of Alexander Hays, Brevet Colonel U. S. A., Brigadier-General and Brevet Major-General U. S. V.*, edited and arranged, with notes and contemporary history, by George T. Fleming, from data compiled by Gilbert A. Hays, has been published in Sewickley, Pennsylvania, by the latter.

Henry M. Calvert has brought out through Messrs. Putnam his recollections as a Union soldier, to which he has given the title *Reminiscences of a Boy in Blue, 1862-1865*.

Volume LXXXIX., part II., of the Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, is *The Return of the Democratic Party to Power in 1884*, by Harrison C. Thomas.

*Addresses delivered by President Wilson on his Western Tour, September 4 to September 25, 1919, on the League of Nations, etc.*, has been issued by the Government Printing Office.

Harper and Brothers have brought out a volume of the messages and addresses of President Wilson, delivered between July 10, 1919, and December 9, 1919, including selections from his country-wide speeches

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in behalf of the treaty and covenant. The volume carries as the principal part of its title *The Hope of the World*.

*Herbert Hoover, the Man and his Work*, by Professor Vernon L. Kellogg, is from the press of Appleton.

Doubleday, Page, and Company have brought out a *Life of General Leonard Wood*, by John G. Holme.

#### THE UNITED STATES IN THE GREAT WAR

A body of the correspondence between Count Bernstorff and the German authorities, together with some documents of the German peace proposal of 1916, has been brought out in Philadelphia by P. Reilly, with the title *Washington and Berlin, 1916-1917*. Bernstorff's own book is entitled *Deutschland und Amerika: Erinnerungen aus dem Fünfjährigen Kricge* (Berlin, Ullstein, 1920, pp. 414).

*The Turn of the Tide: American Operations in Cantigny, Chateau Thierry, and the Second Battle on the Marne*, by Lieut.-Col. Jennings C. Wise, U. S. A. (New York, Holt, 1920, pp. 255) is an exceptional book, written by a member of the Historical Section of the General Staff of the American Expeditionary Forces, who was able to base it upon the archives at General Headquarters, and upon a personal examination of the terrain involved, made immediately after the armistice. This is apparently the first time in the history of the United States army that a history of a campaign has been written under such circumstances by an officer detailed for the purpose. The result is a contribution of much scientific value.

Under the title *Our Greatest Battle* (London, Murray; New York, Dodd, Mead) Lieut.-Col. Frederick Palmer gives a history of the battle in the Argonne.

In its series of *Preliminary Economic Studies of the War*, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has brought out a valuable treatise on *Negro Migration during the War* (pp. 189) by Mr. Emmett J. Scott, secretary and treasurer of Howard University.

The first of a series of four volumes containing sketches of the lives and services of Harvard men who fell in the World War, prepared by M. A. DeWolfe Howe, appointed by the Harvard Corporation as official biographer, has just issued from the Harvard University Press. It bears the title *Harvard Dead in the War with Germany*.

A work in three volumes entitled *Soldiers of the Great War*, edited by W. M. Hauslee and others, has been brought out in Washington by the Soldiers' Record Publishing Association.

*Brown University in the War* is a report by the war records committee, including a statement of the war work of the university, the biographies of Brown men who died in service, and a directory of the

military service of alumni, former students, and undergraduates (Providence, the University).

*Pictorial History of the Twenty-sixth Division, United States Army*, by Albert E. George and Edwin H. Cooper, contains official government pictures made by the United States Signal Corps unit under the command of Capt. Edwin H. Cooper. There is an appreciation by Maj. Gen. Clarence R. Edwards (Boston, Ball Publishing Company).

#### LOCAL ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

##### NEW ENGLAND

Luther H. Gulick's *Evolution of the Budget in Massachusetts* (Macmillan, pp. xiv, 243) is a product of the work of the Bureau of Municipal Research in Boston and of the Training School for Public Service.

*A History of Lowell and its People*, in three volumes, by Frederick William Coburn, is from the press of the Lewis Historical Publishing Company.

The convention at Hartford of the National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, May 17, was signalized by a reception given by the Ruth Wyllys Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution in the building of the Connecticut State Library, which then set forth a remarkable exhibition of its treasures of historical manuscript material from the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries and from the recent war.

*A History of the First Church and Society of Branford, Connecticut, 1644-1919*, by Jesse R. Simonds, is published in New Haven by the Tuttle, Morehouse, and Taylor Company.

##### MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

*The Lenape Indians: their Origin and Migrations to the Delaware*, an address delivered before the Trenton Historical Society by Carlos E. Godfrey, has been published by the society.

The *Quarterly Journal* of the New York State Historical Association for April contains an article on Thomas Paine by Hon. James A. Roberts, one on Verrazano's island of Luisa (identified with western Long Island) by Mr. J. H. Innes, and translations by Mr. A. J. F. van Laer of two letters written by Nicasius de Sille from New Amsterdam in 1654, and lately discovered at the Hague.

*The Third Annual Report and Year Book of the Martelaer's Rock Association, 1919-1920*, an association formed for the preservation of the Warner house and places of historic interest on Constitution Island, contains authoritative historical accounts of the fortifications on that island and at West Point, the former by Capt. Adam E. Potts, U. S. A.,



the latter by Lieut.-Col. Raymond F. Fowler, of the Corps of Engineers, accompanied by plans.

The Buffalo Historical Society has received as a gift from Hon. Peter A. Porter a quantity of the papers of his grandfather, Gen. Peter B. Porter (1773-1844), who commanded a body of troops during the War of 1812, chiefly engaged on the Niagara frontier. Many of the documents relate to this service.

The April number of the *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* contains a biography of Cortlandt Parker, 1818-1907, by Edward M. Coile, a sketch of John M. Berrien, and an account of Lafayette's visit to New Brunswick in 1824.

The Mechanics National Bank of Trenton has privately printed an account of its history by Dr. Carlos E. Godfrey, *The Mechanics Bank, 1834-1919, Trenton in New Jersey* (pp. 164), the product of careful research, and useful to the student of financial history. Others will value the interesting chapter on the site, which is that of the French Arms Tavern, where the Continental Congress sat for two months in 1784 and where the New Jersey legislature, for a time, and the convention of 1787, which ratified the Federal Constitution, also held their sessions.

*Papers read before the Lancaster County Historical Society*, vol. XXIV., no. 1 (January 2, 1920), includes a continuation of Mr. H. Frank Eshleman's selections of Items of Local Interest in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, covering in this number the years 1761-1770. The issue for March 5 (no. 3) contains a group of ten Letters of Col. Matthias Slough to Robert Morris, contributed, with an introduction, by Hon.-Charles I. Landis. The letters were written from Lancaster in 1778.

The Moravians and their Missions among the Indians of the Ohio Valley is the title of an article by Charles W. Dahlinger in the April number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*.

#### SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

*A History of the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad*, by Howard Douglas Dozier, professor of economics in the University of Georgia, is a Hart, Schaffner, and Marx prize essay in economics (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company).

In the March number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* Dr. Bernard C. Steiner records some results of an examination of the Reverdy Johnson papers recently acquired by the Library of Congress. Edward S. Delaplaine presents the fourth installment of his Life of Thomas Johnson, and Aaron Baroway writes a sketch of Solomon Etting (1764-1847). The biographical sketches of Maryland soldiers who lost their lives in the World War, compiled by Alice E. Haswell, are continued, as are also the selections from the Carroll papers.

Among recent accessions to the Virginia State Library are the survey book of Robert Bolling, largely concerning Prince George and Brunswick counties in the early eighteenth century, and a certified copy of a list of marriage bonds and licenses of Northampton County, dating from 1706. The general assembly of Virginia at its recent session provided for a permanent assistant to the archivist. The archivist, Mr. Morgan P. Robinson, reports that the work of indexing the Confederate records has now advanced to about 81,000 cards of the estimated 140,000.

The North Carolina Historical Commission has recently acquired a body of papers (561 pieces) of William A. Graham (1804-1875). Besides a large number of Governor Graham's own letters there are letters of William Gaston, Millard Fillmore, Daniel Webster, George E. Badger, Henry Clay, Willie P. Mangum, John M. Morehead, Gen. W. T. Sherman, and Zebulon B. Vance. To the papers of Chief Justice Walter Clark 1618 pieces have been added. The commission has also made considerable additions to its collections of photographs illustrating the activities of North Carolina soldiers in the World War, has gathered a large number of soldiers' letters and diaries, and has brought about the organization in a number of counties of effective war records committees.

The Georgia Historical Association held its fourth annual meeting in Atlanta on May 22. Besides the presidential address by Judge Andrew J. Cobb, there was a paper by Dr. E. M. Coulter of the University of Georgia on the Nullification Movement in Georgia, 1828-1833, and one by Miss C. Mildred Thompson of Vassar College on the Freedmen's Bureau in Georgia in 1865-1866. An important feature of the meeting was the amalgamation of the Georgia Historical Association and the Georgia Historical Society, as forecast in the April number of this *Review* (p. 595). The combined societies will bear, appropriately, the name of the older organization, the Georgia Historical Society, the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* becoming its organ of publication.

A monograph entitled *Sectionalism and Party Politics in Alabama, 1819-1842*, by Theodore H. Jack, has been published in Menasha, Wisconsin, by G. Banta.

The Mississippi Historical Society has brought out a volume entitled *Public Administration in Mississippi*, by Alfred B. Butts. It is volume III. of the Centenary series of the society's *Publications*.

The *Annual Report* (1919) of the Board of Curators of the Louisiana State Museum records among the accessions of the past year some personal papers of General Beauregard, including a journal of the year 1866, and many early newspapers, including a nearly complete file of *Le Courier de Louisiane*, 1807-1842, and less complete files of *La Renaissance Louisianaise* and *Courrier des États-Unis*, etc. The newspapers, together with a number of manuscripts and historical relics, were received from Mr. Gaspar Cusachs.

## WESTERN STATES

The thirteenth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held in Greencastle, Indiana, April 29-May 1. The presidential address of Dr. M. M. Quaife, of Wisconsin, was on Jonathan Carver and the Carver Grant. Of especial interest were the papers of Dr. E. M. Coulter of Georgia on Elijah Clarke's Foreign Intrigues, of Professor C. E. Carter of Miami on the Significance of the Military Office in America, 1763-1775, and several papers on the Puritans and on Lincoln.

The March number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* contains a paper, by Dr. Archibald Henderson, on Isaac Shelby and the Genet Mission; one by Dr. Lester B. Shippee on Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi after the Civil War, dealing in particular with the activities of William F. Davidson; one by J. Fred Rippy on Diplomacy of the United States and Mexico regarding the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, 1848-1860; and a biographical sketch, by Henry D. Jordan, of Daniel W. Voorhees (1827-1897), member of Congress and senator from Indiana.

The *Collections* of the Western Reserve Historical Society (*Publication* no. 101, 1920, pp. 235) is a monograph, by Dr. William C. Cochran, entitled the Western Reserve and the Fugitive Slave Law: a Prelude to the Civil War.

The principal content of the numbers of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* for October, 1918, and January, 1919, is a history of the Development of the Free Public High School in Illinois to 1860, by Paul E. Belting. Among the articles in the October number are: the First Official Thanksgiving in Illinois, by Isabel Jamison; Life and Services of William Wilson, Chief Justice of the Illinois Supreme Court, by B. D. Monroe; and some brief articles in local religious history. In the January number is an article entitled George Washington, Land Speculator, by Ada H. Dixon, and an account, by Robert Lindley, of the Cannon-Starks Indian Massacre and Captivity, contributed and edited by Milo Custer.

A *History of Cumulative and Minority Representation in Illinois, 1870-1919*, by B. F. Moore, is a recent number of the University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences.

Articles in the April number of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* are: Recollections of Notable Pioneers, by Rev. Charles Coppens, S. J.; Marquette University in the Making, by Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J.; the Two Hundredth Anniversary of Fort Chartres, by Gertrude Corrigan; the Irish in Chicago (to be continued), by Joseph J. Thompson; and continuations of the papers of Rev. John Rothensteiner and Rev. Silas Barth on the Northwestern Part of the Diocese of St. Louis under Bishop Rosati, and the Franciscans in Southern Illinois, respectively.

The *Tennessee Historical Magazine* prints in the October number an installment of the Journal of John Sevier, 1790-1815 (the heading has erroneously "1835"). The entries for 1790 pertain to the journey from his home in what is now eastern Tennessee to New York to take his seat as a representative for North Carolina in Congress. Entries for October, 1793, concern the Etowah campaign, in which he commanded. The journal for the years 1794-1797 consists principally of jottings of daily life on his farm and as governor of Tennessee (1796). There are numerous annotations by Col. H. M. Doak and Judge John Allison, and an introduction and notes by Mr. John H. DeWitt. This number contains also a sketch, by Mr. A. V. Goodpasture, of Col. John Montgomery, associated with George Rogers Clark in the northwest enterprise of 1778, and Gen. John B. Floyd's report of the battle of Fort Donelson, reprinted from the *Daily Nashville Patriot* of March 26, 1862.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin plans to prepare a Domesday Book of Wisconsin, comprising an Atlas of First Settlers, an Atlas of Settlers about 1870, and an historical and statistical discussion of the settlement of each county and the subsequent changes in population.

Through the administration of a family estate, the Wisconsin Historical Society has obtained a small but significant group of papers concerning the Canadian revolt of 1837, and the subsequent plans of the exiled leaders in the United States. The papers consist chiefly of letters written to Louis Perrault, brother of Charles Ovide Perrault, who fell at the battle of St. Denis. Among the writers of the letters are such noted names as William Lyon Mackenzie, Louis Joseph Papineau, and Edmund B. O'Callaghan. Their plans involved a possible war between Great Britain and the United States, with Louis Philippe as an ally of the latter. The connection of the exiled "patriots" with Governor Fairfield of Maine and his proclamation of the so-called "Aroostook War" of 1839 concerning the northeastern boundary controversy, is of diplomatic interest.

*Minnesota Geographic Names: their Origin and Historic Significance*, by Warren Upham, has been issued by the Minnesota Historical Society as vol. XVII. of its *Collections*. The society has also issued a *Handbook* descriptive of its organization and activities. The most noteworthy accession to the society's collection of historical materials is the collection of records and papers gathered by the historical society of the Minnesota Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The material relates to the period from about 1840 to the early years of the present century. The society has also received, as a gift from Mrs. Charles M. Neely of St. Paul, a number of manuscripts, principally of midwestern interest.

The principal content of the November number of the *Minnesota History Bulletin* is Benjamin Densmore's Journal of an Expedition on

the Frontier, 1857, with notes by Miss Dorothy A. Heinemann and Miss Bertha L. Heilbron, of the staff of the Minnesota Historical Society.

The Minnesota War Records Commission has gathered, besides the service records of more than eighty thousand Minnesota soldiers, sailors, and marines, numerous state and local files of correspondence, records and papers of leading war agencies, and even private collections of manuscripts and graphic material relating to the state's participation in the war. Under the terms of the act establishing the commission these materials are deposited with the Minnesota Historical Society. The Saint Paul and Ramsey County branch of the commission has undertaken the preparation of a county war history and has entrusted the task to Franklin F. Holbrook.

The principal paper in the April number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* is an examination, by George F. Robeson, of Special Municipal Charters in Iowa, 1836-1858. An account of the experiences of a surveying party in northwestern Iowa in 1855 was written by J. L. Ingalsbee about fifteen years ago. J. W. Rich contributes a brief paper, entitled General Lew Wallace at Shiloh: How he was convinced of Error after Forty Years, pertaining to some statements in Wallace's *Autobiography*, and embodying a letter (February 13, 1909) from Maj. D. W. Reed, secretary and historian of the Shiloh Military Park Commission.

A *History of the War Activities of Scott County, Iowa, 1917-1918*, edited by Ralph W. Cram, has been published in Davenport by W. J. McCullough.

The issue of the *Missouri Historical Review* for April-July (double number) contains a History of Woman Suffrage in Missouri (pp. 104) by various hands, edited by Mary S. Scott. Among the other articles are a paper by Cardinal L. Goodwin on Early Exploration and Settlement of Missouri and Arkansas, the third of William G. Bek's articles on the Followers of Duden, the concluding paper of Rollin J. Britton on Early Days on Grand River and the Mormon War, and the third installment of Shelby's Expedition to Mexico, by John N. Edwards. It is announced that the October number of the *Review* will be a Missouri centennial number.

In the April number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* Professor Charles E. Chapman continues his studies of the exploration of California with a paper on Sebastian Vizcaíno, A. K. Christian contributes a second paper on Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar, and Ruby C. Smith a third paper on James W. Fannin, jr., in the Texas Revolution, while the documentary series of Minutes of the Ayuntamiento of San Felipe de Austin, 1828-1832, edited by Professor E. C. Barker, has reached its tenth installment.

The issue of *Historia* for April 1 contains an article, by Judge Thomas H. Doyle, sketching briefly the history of the Oklahoma Territorial Supreme Court.

A monograph entitled *The Mormon Battalion: its History and Achievements*, by Brigham H. Roberts, is published in Salt Lake City by the *Deseret News*.

The *Correspondence of the Reverend Ezra Fisher, Pioneer Missionary of the American Baptist Home Mission Society in Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Oregon*, which has appeared serially in the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, has been published by the society in book form. It is edited by Sarah Fisher Henderson, Nellie E. Latourette, and Kenneth S. Latourette.

#### CANADA

The second (June) number of the *Canadian Historical Review* sustains the high character indicated by its predecessor. The two chief articles are one by the managing editor, Mr. W. S. Wallace, on the Growth of Canadian National Feeling, and one by Mr. William Smith of the Public Archives, on the Struggle over the Laws of Canada, 1763-1783, which reviews, in the light of fuller information than has heretofore been presented, the controversy of Carleton and Livius. Dr. H. P. Biggar has a note revising the history of the death of Poutrincourt.

Dr. Adam Shortt and Dr. Arthur G. Doughty have made a second edition of their *Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1759-1791*, differentiated from the edition of 1907 by many additions and by being made up into two volumes (pp. xvi, 1-581, 583-1084). The additions of special note are the report of the Board of Trade of September 2, 1765, the draft of an ordinance for establishing courts of justice, 1775, the commissions for a court of appeals and a court of civil jurisdiction, 1776, and the report of the committee of the Privy Council respecting the dismissal of Chief Justice Livius, 1779. There are however many others; and the volumes, issued by the new Historical Documents Publication Board, are of greatly improved appearance.

Volume II. of the *History of the Organization, Development, and Services of the Military and Naval Forces of Canada from the Peace of Paris in 1763 to the Present Time*, edited by the Historical Section of the Canadian General Staff (see p. 176, *supra*), has come from the press. Of the three chapters in this volume chapter III. treats of the American invasion and the surrender of Chambly, St. Jean, and Montreal; chapter IV. of the siege and blockade of Quebec; and chapter V. of the province of Quebec under the administration of Carleton, 1775-1778. The greater part of the volume is occupied with illustrative documents, 275 in number.

*La Naissance d'une Race*, by Abbé Lionel Groulx (Montreal, Bibliothèque de l'Action Française, 1919, pp. 294), is a highly eulogistic account, in the form of a series of lectures, of the origins and development of the French-Canadians. Although written from an ultra-clerical point of view and marked throughout by a strong *Tendenz* the volume contains nevertheless a valuable compilation of facts and statistics relating to the social and economic history of French Canada.

#### AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

Under the auspices of the King of Spain, the papal nuncio at Madrid, and various distinguished members of the Royal Academy of History, an ambitious series of historical volumes is announced, under the general title *Biblioteca de Historia Hispano-Americana*, in which it is proposed to issue many monographs, richly documented, treating of Spanish-American history. In large part the volumes will be constructed around the personalities and careers of the viceroys, but others will treat of ecclesiastical, civil, social, and economic institutions. The first volume, already published, is entitled *La Infanta Carlota Joaquina y la Política de España en América, 1808-1812*. Other volumes, relating to the early viceroys of New Granada and Nicaragua, or presenting *memorias* or *relaciones* of the viceroys of Peru and New Spain, are promised for early issue.

Dr. T. Esquivel Obregón has discussed the *Influencia de España y los Estados Unidos sobre México* (Madrid, Calleja, 1919, pp. 396).

The Government Printing Office has issued the first (pp. 387) of two volumes entitled *Mediation of the Honduran-Guatemalan Boundary Question, held under the Good Offices of the Department of State, 1918-1919*. Besides arguments the volume contains English translations of many documents, and will be of use to students in spite of the imperfections of the translations.

Señor Don Emilio Bacardí of Santiago de Cuba is causing extensive investigations into the history of that city to be made in the Archivo General de Indias at Seville, with a view to the writing of an historical work.

The American Antiquarian Society (Worcester) has obtained the South American papers of the Hon. Samuel Larned, secretary of the legation in Chile from 1823 to 1828, and chargé d'affaires in Peru and Bolivia from 1828 to 1839. These papers, about 600 pieces, comprise his official and personal correspondence relating to South American affairs.

Students of early diplomatic relations with Chile will be interested in a competent little volume, *Los Primeros Años del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores* (Santiago, Imprenta Universitaria, 1919, pp. 145) by Señor Alberto Cruchaga, illustrated by portraits of the ministers.



In *German American Annals*, n. s., XVII. 3-6, under the title "Deutsche Charakterbilder aus der Brasilianischen Geschichte", Mr. Friedrich Sommer of São Paulo gives an account of Hans Staden of Homberg.


The firm of Ernesto Tornquist and Company of Buenos Aires, desiring to furnish full information on the economic, commercial, and financial progress of Argentina, has published in English a substantial volume of statistics, mostly from official sources, and presented without comment, *The Economic Development of the Argentine Republic in the Last Fifty Years* (Buenos Aires, 1919, pp. 328).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Marc de Villiers du Terrage and P. Rivet, *Les Indiens du Texas et les Expéditions Françaises de 1720 et 1721 à la "Baie St. Bernard"* (*Journal de la Société des Américanistes*, n. s., XI.); W. F. Dodd, *Political Geography and State Government* (*American Political Science Review*, May); G. Bradford, *American Portraits, 1875-1900*: I. *Mark Twain*; II. *Henry Adams* (*Atlantic Monthly*, April, May); J. B. Bishop, *Theodore Roosevelt and his Time, shown in his Own Letters*, VII., VIII., IX. (*Scribner's Magazine*, March, April, May); Capt. E. S. Beach, U. S. N., *Manila Bay in 1898* (*U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings*, April); Munroe Smith, *War Books by American Diplomats* (*Political Science Quarterly*, March); E. Chartier, *Le Canada d'Autrefois, 1608-1840: le Régime de la Tutelle Coloniale* (*Revue Canadienne*, April); O. D. Skelton, *Life and Letters of Sir Wilfred Laurier*, VI.-IX. [concl.] (*Century Magazine*, March-June); J. V. Eriksson, *Montezumas Mexiko, en Indiansk Storstad* (*Ymer*, 1919, 1); H. Franck, *The Death of Charlemagne* [Charlemagne Masena Peralte, commander of Haitian bandits] (*Century Magazine*, May).

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**American Historical Review, Indexes.** General Index to Vols. I-X, 1895-1905. General Index to Vols. XI-XX, 1905-1915.

In paper, \$1.25 each; cloth, \$1.75. For sale by the Macmillan Company.

**The Pacific Ocean in History.** Proceedings of the American Historical Association at the Panama-Pacific Historical Congress, 1915. Edited by H. Morse Stephens and Herbert E. Bolton. Cloth. Pp. 535. \$4.00. Published and for sale by the Macmillan Company.

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